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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2457th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 28 July 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. LING Qing (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2457)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
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   Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15764);
   Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890)

The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:

Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);

Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);

Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599);

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Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2401st, 2412th to 2414th and 2438th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Qatar, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Kirça (Turkey), Mr. Al-Qasimi (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received from the representatives of Afghanistan and Malaysia letters in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan) and Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Chinese*): Members of the Council will recall that the Council last took up this matter at its 2438th meeting, on 20 May. The Council is now continuing its consideration of the item pursuant to the request contained in the letter dated 27 July from the representative of Democratic Yemen addressed to the President of the Council [*S/15890*].

4. Members of the Council also have before them documents S/15869 and S/15886, which contain the text of letters dated 13 and 26 July, respectively, from the representative of Jordan addressed to the President of the Council.

5. Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset I should like to quote what Mr. Menachem Begin, the Prime Minister of Israel, said in 1981, at the opening of the Ariel settlement, south of Nablus, in the West Bank. He said, as reported by Ian T. Lustick in his article "Israeli Politics and American Foreign Policy" in the Winter 1982/83 issue of *Foreign Affairs:*

> "I, Menachem, the son of Ze'ev and Hasia Begin, do solemnly swear that as long as I serve the nation as prime minister we will not leave any part of Judea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights."*

6. Those words are an accurate interpretation of Israel's foreign policy and of its policy in the occupied Arab territories with regard to the legitimate Arab inhabitants and the land. That statement by the current Israeli Prime Minister and many similar statements and promises made by Israeli officials and leaders clearly indicate the priorities of the Israeli Government and the objective of its military and political activities in the region. The annexation of the occupied Arab territories, especially the West Bank, is the central aim of the policy of the current Israeli Government.

7. To achieve that central aim, Israel has consistently pursued various policies, all of which point in one direction, culminating in the facilitation of such annexation and minimization of the cost and the risks of this process.

8. Israel has realized that the real impediment to its assimilation of the Arab territories that would prevent the so-called unity of Eretz Yisrael is a just and lasting peace. It has sought by various means to oppose that peace, and it has spared no effort to frustrate all endeavours that tend to promote it. Resistance to peace and the foiling of all attempts at its realization have become another central aim of the Israeli policy.

9. Paving the way for the annexation of the Arab territories occupied in 1967—that is the focus of all Israeli military and political actions inside the occupied Arab territories and abroad.

10. In regard to the occupied Arab territories, Israeli policy has two major aspects: establishment of settlements on the land; and violation of the human rights of the indigenous civilian population of the land. The two aspects are complementary. The displacement of the Arab population from its land is the first step towards depopulation of the Arab territories to bring in more Israeli settlers.

11. On more than one occasion the Council has discussed the question of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, as well as the magnitude of the Zionist settlement activities, which have intensified recently. It has noted Israel's cancerous methods. The members of the Council have also had the opportunity to realize the moral, political and economic dimensions of these activities, which are destructive to the Palestinian Arab people and to the occupied Arab territories and have adverse effects on peace and security in the region.

12. Although the Council expressed its position on this question in resolution 465 (1980), in which it declares these settlements illegal and illegitimate and considers their existence and their continued construction a serious impediment to peace and calls for their dismantlement, some basic facts concerning this question must be recalled and emphasized. They are as follows.

13. First, Israel's policy of establishing settlements is illegal and illegitimate and violates all international norms and laws concerning war and occupation. The permanent nature of these settlements has been proven and is explicitly acknowledged by Israel. The establishment of settlements is a means of seizing land through the creation of a *fait accompli* by using military force and coercion. I need not recall that such conduct is in complete contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of international law, which declare inadmissible the acquisition of the territories of others by force. No wonder Israel does not deny that its aims are diametrically opposed to the aims and objectives of the United Nations. All the legal arguments advanced by Israel and its supporters cannot negate the sixth paragraph of Article 49 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] which states:

> "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."*

14. The number of Israelis transferred by Israel to the occupied Arab territories since 1967 has now reached more than 150,000, and they have been settled in a total of 145 settlements built on about 60 per cent of the West Bank, excluding the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Israel makes no bones about its intention to settle more than 200,000 people in the occupied Arab territories by the end of the decade in an embodiment of the Judaization undertaken by Israel in those areas. This represents only some of Israel's actions in carrying out this destructive settlement policy. Israel does not confine itself to

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

violating the sixth paragraph of Article 49 of the above-mentioned Geneva Convention through the transfer of its citizens to the occupied Arab territories in the context of a programme of comprehensive settlement; it goes further in the violation of that Convention by using all means to remove the indigenous Arab population from its homes, villages and cities and to deport it to neighbouring States, thus violating the first paragraph of Article 49, which provides as follows:

> "Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive."*

15. What happened recently in Al-Khalil (Hebron) and what has happened there in the past, as well as the current systematic terrorism being carried out in the towns of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, represent steps towards the systematic emptying of those areas by Israel, steps that are being taken in full view of the world and with the possible approval and blessing of some.

16. Secondly, an accurate monitoring of the manner in which the settlements have been sited in the occupied Arab territories clearly reveals the long-range strategic aims Israel is seeking to achieve. The settlements have been built according to an overall plan designed to disrupt any economic, geographic or demographic continuity between the villages and cities in the occupied Arab territories. One of Israel's aims in its settlement strategy is to sap the unity and the geographic, demographic and economic continuity of those lands and their populations in order to transform the Arabs who remain in the area, in spite of the humiliation and terrorism to which they are subjected by the occupying Power, into creatures trapped like insects in a bottle, as Raphael Eytan, the former Chief of Staff of the Israeli army, stated before the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee when he resigned his position. Mr. Eytan's statement exposed the awful face of racism inherent in the Israeli settlement policy. It laid bare the true face of Israel's policies with regard to the Arab nation, policies it tries to camouflage with Talmudic and historic arguments or pretexts of security.

17. Thirdly, the use by Israel of religious and historic pretexts or security concerns to justify its settlement policy is to engage in a distortion of facts. Acquiescence in such a heresy is a negation of history and of the progress of history, as well as of the role of mankind and its ability to control its destiny. It implies acquiescence in a kind of fatalism that has no moral foundation.

18. The settlements Israel claims are security zones require further security zones around them, and they have turned into a source of friction with neighbouring Arab States. Israel may well proceed to ask for additional security zones to protect its new zones, and on and on, until the question of Israel's security turns into a continuous process of expansion at the expense of its neighbours.

19. Fourthly, Israel's settlement policies have forced it to follow an expansionist, militaristic logic as it seeks to expand its security zone for those settlements, first within the borders of neighbouring States and then beyond, seeking living resources outside the borders of the occupied territories, especially with regard to water, which is one of the most important elements in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel's desire to realize an ancient historical myth based on its need to support agricultural settlements makes water one of the most important resources for Israel, a resource that it must secure—even from beyond its borders—if it is to continue to support its failed agricultural sector. Hence the organic link between the Israeli settlement process and the growing security requirements that process entails. As a result, the demarcation line between the requirements of security, on the one hand, and expansionism, hegemony and aggression, on the other, has become blurred. Israel is the only State in which security borders differ from political borders. It is also the only State that refuses to define its political borders while establishing its security borders on the territories of neighbouring States, and even others, thousands of miles away.

20. Fifthly, those who study the pace of Israeli settlement in the occupied Arab territories can clearly see an obvious relationship between the failure of various peace endeavours and the escalation of the settlement programmes. Israel realizes that there can be no peace unless land is exchanged. That is why, on every occasion on which concrete efforts have been made to give a real impetus to the peace process, Israel has sought to abort such a process by intensifying its settlement activity. It is an open secret that Israel's repeated declaration of its settlement policies and the magnitude they are to assume over the next 5 to 10 years is a tactic designed to use the settlement process to undermine peace efforts and to sow doubts with regard to their viability. In order to foil the prospects for peace and to undermine any justification for it, Israel has sought, since it first occupied the Arab territories, to desecrate the sanctity of the Christian and Islamic holy places without any regard for the feelings of the millions of adherents of those two religions. It has planned and abetted the many attempts made to burn down the Al-Aqsa mosque, and to construct in its place the second Temple. Every attempt to burn down and desecrate this holy place has been carried out either through Israeli plans or with its encouragement.

21. This destructive settlement policy pursued against Arab territories and against the Islamic and Christian holy places is accompanied by another inhuman policy pursued by Israel against the indigenous Arab population of those territories. Israel has put the maximum psychological and material pressure on the Arab citizens in the occupied territories to force them from their

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

lands, so as to enable it to realize its aim of making the whole of Palestine a land without people. The acts of oppression carried out in the Arab city of Al-Khalil, the latest example of which was the 26 July attack on the Islamic University in Al-Khalil by Israeli settlers and their murder of three civilians and wounding of 40 others, were but the other half of Israel's expansionist policy. Israel assigns these acts of murder and aggression to its citizens in order to camouflage the truth, that it practises State terrorism against the Arab citizens in the occupied Arab territories, but this conduct deceives no one. Everyone realizes that these settlers are part of the official machinery of the occupation authorities and that they are playing their central role of organizing and implementing terrorist activities in a deliberate manner conducive to creating a social and psychological climate in which it is difficult for the Arabs to stay in their homes, with the result that they are forced to leave Palestine, giving it up for new Israeli settlers.

22. No fewer than half the articles that make up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been violated by Israel in carrying out its policy of occupying and Judaizing the Arab territories and displacing and fragmenting the Palestinian Arab people. But that policy has exceeded even the limits of violating human rights. It has come to be detrimental to the very existence and presence of the Arabs in Palestine. However, certain circles that claim to protect human rights reject the denunciation of these Israeli practices and reject mention of the Palestinian Arab people when citing the victims of aggression and external domination, oppression, arbitrary acts and the rule of terror.

23. Sixteen years of repugnant occupation, terror and oppression have cut the Palestinian people to the quick. The cases of poisoning which mysteriously occurred among schoolgirls in the West Bank last March* and the mass anxiety that ensued among the civilian populations are considered a moral and political condemnation of Israel's oppressive policies and inhuman practices. They are also considered a warning signal that should move the international conscience and alert it to this odious occupation imposed on the Palestinian Arab people by the occupier.

24. The inability of the United Nations and the international community, and particularly of the Security Council, to respond appropriately to the situation causes great concern. What more is needed to move the international conscience than the despair, repression and suffering of the victims of occupation, which culminated in symptoms of mass hysteria among the civilians suffering under the yoke of occupation?

25. This shows the repugnance and invidiousness of the occupation and the extent of the moral and political responsibility borne by the United Nations for the Palestinian Arab people.

26. Israel's policy of oppression and settlement, aimed at realizing the dream of annexing the occupied Arab territories, has been coupled with an external policy just as bad and foolhardy. Israel's quest to swallow up the occupied Arab territories has made it necessary to pursue a foreign policy based on two principles: first, the impossibility of achieving peace and, secondly, the necessity of denying the existence of the Palestinian Arab people and their legitimate rights on their own soil. As a consequence, Israel is forced to undermine those people. To that end, it set out on a dangerous mission to take over the whole area, in keeping with its expansionist, bloody policy, which includes the aim of fragmenting and dismembering the Arab world through exploiting the various political and social discrepancies there.

27. Israel's intransigence and its denial of the right of existence of the Palestinian Arab people, as well as of that people's right to self-determination on its national territory, in Palestine, have led Israel to its present political and strategic situation, making it necessary for it to pursue an external policy towards its Arab neighbours and the Palestinian Arab people based on violence and the use of force and on war as the only option. Israel started to act on the basis that it was easier for it to destroy the Palestinian Arab people and its supporters than to recognize that people's rights and to have dialogue with it. Therefore, Israel's dealings with the Arabs and the Palestinians have been limited to two options—capitulation or destruction. Thus, as a result of its own logic, Israel has imposed on the whole region a state of tension and violence, keeping for itself the political and military initiative through the excessive use of the latter. This has resulted in Israel's indulgence in a policy of hegemony and expansion, imposing *faits accomplis* instead of following the path of coexistence and understanding.

28. In its attempt to justify its destructive external policy morally and legally, Israel has sought to perpetuate two myths: first, the alleged Arab threat to its existence, a threat which Israel created and expanded; and, secondly, the invocation of the legitimate right of self-defence. Thus, it is through its false claim that the Arabs wish to destroy it that Israel has sought to justify its aggressive policies and its expansionist wars waged against the Palestinian Arabs under the pretext of self-defence. But it has now become crystal-clear to all, including the members of the Council, that Israel is trying to destroy the Palestinian Arab people and to bring to heel and dismember the Arab nation by invoking this false threat to Israel's existence posed by the Arabs.

29. There is no need for me to delve into the details of the organic relationship between Israel's central aim—to destroy the Palestinian Arab people and dismember the Arab nation—and its use of the pretext of self-defence. Everyone knows that Israel has chosen to assume that it may be permitted or admissible for a given State to place its requirements for existence above the interests of the international system, and it has used this as a pretext for

* An error in the mimeographed text, which said "February" rather than "March", gave rise to a controversy at the 2461st meeting.

its expansionist policy. To round out its false claims, it was necessary to invent the myth of a Palestinian and Arab threat against the presence of Israel. The fact is that Israel is seeking not to protect itself against the Palestinians, but rather to destroy them. In this light, it is obvious that self-defence becomes, above all, a legitimate right for the Arabs.

30. In order to achieve its policy, Israel has attempted, making use of a sophisticated propaganda machine, to distort and efface most of the genuine calls for peace and appeals for moderation issued by the Arabs.

31. It is on the basis of this policy that what is called the theory of Israel's security has come into being. That theory is founded on aggressive, expansionist concepts and principles. The first claim on which this theory is based is for an incredible expansion of boundaries in the interests of Israel; these embrace an area extending from North Africa in the west to China in the east, as was stated by Ariel Sharon, former Israeli defence minister. Another facet is the attempt to hold a complete monopoly on military superiority and to pursue a policy of pre-emptive war and surprise attack—in other words, a total dependence on war as the only option in the relationship between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs. Further, there is its continued expansion aimed at creating rings of security and buffer zones around Israel in the shape of settlements or other entities linked to Israel's political—military machine beyond the borders of the occupied Arab territories. Finally, we must not forget the political use of the myth of an Arab threat, of which I have already spoken.

32. That is the context within which we should assess Israel's claims regarding security and its unstinting efforts to fight against peace and to reject compromise and moderation, as well as its creation of settlements, which are used not only to serve its own interests in carrying out its expansionist strategy but also to fight against peace, undermining its principal pillar: the territory as set out in Council resolution 242 (1967).

33. This fatal policy has led to the present stalemate in the Middle East. Further, it has frustrated all the sincere efforts aimed at saving the region from the evils of war and destruction. It is this expansionist policy which dictated the terrorist acts against Palestinians in the West Bank, in preparation for a wide-scale evacuation operation planned by the Israeli occupation authorities.

34. Objectively and frankly, we believe that Israel would not have gone so far in the pursuit of its expansionist policies had the Council been able to discharge its responsibilities as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, and had the great Powers, especially those with direct responsibility, shouldered their duties regarding Israel's intransigence and its persistence in creating settlements in the occupied Arab territories and in terrorizing the Arab citizens in order to force them to flee their homes, as is the case now in Al-Khalil. The recent events in Al-Khalil are the beginnings of a systematic terror operation similar to those carried out in Deir Yassin and other Arab cities in order to evacuate the Arab citizens and intimidate them into leaving their homes and towns so that new Israeli settlers can take their place.

35. We believe that the credibility of any peace initiative will depend on its clear acknowledgement of the situation and on its clear declaration of the illegality and illegitimacy of the Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories. It must also take a firm position regarding Israeli practices such as those now being carried out in Nablus and Al-Khalil, aimed at emptying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip of their legitimate landowners and populations and at arranging new mass evacuation operations. These evacuation operations now planned by Israel—the beginnings of which we have witnessed in Al-Khalil and Nablus—jeopardize the national security of Jordan as well as that of other neighbouring States. Such practices also pose a permanent threat to any hopes or aspirations for peace. Therefore, the credibility and seriousness of any call for peace depend directly on its being characterized by commitment and responsibility regarding these practices and the policies linked to them, and on its rejection of those practices and the granting to the international community of the opportunity to express its position on these practices, through the Council. Failure to comprehend the gravity of the situation would strike a fatal blow at all possibilities for peace in the region and would lessen the impact of any international or other peace initiative aimed at resolving the problem of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

36. Finally, all of Israel's claims and all its military adventures cannot conceal two main facts: the illegitimacy of Israel's occupation of the Arab territories, and the impossibility of achieving peace unless that occupation is ended within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

37. Because of its commitment to this position, Jordan has, during the recent period, been working with all seriousness and sincerity, in co-operation with all the parties, to put an end to the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, to liberate that land and its people from the yoke of foreign rule through a comprehensive and just peace based on the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Al-Quds, and the realization of all the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people as well as its right to live in peace within recognized borders. This will remain the aim of Jordan's foreign policy regardless of the obstacles placed in the path of peace. We hope that all the parties will discharge their historical responsibilities before it is too late.

38. In conclusion, I wish to express our admiration and appreciation for all the efforts you, Sir, have made during the period of your presidency of the Council.

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Democratic

Yemen, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States at the United Nations for the month of July. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

40. Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I need not list your outstanding qualities and wide experience as the representative of a friendly country which supports the just Arab causes, especially that of Palestine. The past weeks have shown your great competence in successfully conducting the Council's business. Also, I extend thanks to you and, through you, to the members of the Council for the prompt response in convening this meeting at the request of the Group of Arab States, over which I have the honour of presiding this month. Perhaps this immediate response by the Council reflects its recognition of the gravity of the developments in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and the dangerous escalation of an already volatile situation in the Middle East, posing a threat to international peace and security. We cannot but express thanks and appreciation to the representative of Zimbabwe for his able leadership of the Council during the month of June.

41. The grave developments in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories are the natural result of what Israel has represented since its establishment: an expansionist settler State in the heart of the Arab homeland. Israel has usurped the territories of Palestine and annexed the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. It is also building settlements in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and practising various forms of racist oppression against the Palestinian people. It is confiscating that people's territories, possessions and waters. It is seeking to annihilate, terrorize and displace it. It also seeks to undermine the character, culture and historic landmarks of that people's territories. All the practices of Israel in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories confirm its expansionist policy, which is aimed at strengthening its hold, continuing its occupation, annexing the land and displacing the Palestinian people.

42. We need not recall the categorical evidence that Israel's policy is directed against the land and the people. This policy has been confirmed by the public statements of Israel's leaders. The so-called security of Israel has no geographical boundaries; it is a pretext to justify the expansionist and colonizing nature of that policy. In the context of this Israeli policy, Palestinian and Arab territories have been seized by force and the Golan Heights and Jerusalem have been annexed. We have often warned that these steps are but a prelude to the annexation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and other occupied Arab territories. The invasion of Lebanon by Israel in the summer of 1982 was fresh evidence of Zionist expansionist aspirations.

43. Israel has escalated its brutal, arbitrary policy of annihilating the Palestinian people. It has expanded its settlements and persisted in the physical liquidation of the Palestinians and the practice of organized terrorism. In its aggression against Lebanon last year, Israel used all the deadly weapons at its disposal, including those that are internationally prohibited, against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. It perpetrated the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, which claimed the lives of defenceless Palestinians—women, children and the elderly. Students in cities of the West Bank have been poisoned. In the last few days there have been deliberate military actions by Israeli soldiers and Jewish settlers against university students in Nablus and Al-Khalil which claimed the lives of a number of defenceless Palestinian students and injured many others. These actions are following one after another. This morning's papers inform us that Israeli soldiers opened fire on Palestinian students, wounding four of them.

44. All these developments emphasize the reality of the Israeli policy aimed at depopulating the Palestinian territories, terrorizing the Palestinians and forcing them out of their lands, and compromising the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their independent State. These terrorist practices have recently assumed a new dimension, since they have spread to a large number of occupied Arab and Palestinian cities and villages. They have also assumed a certain vindictiveness under some false historical pretexts.

45. Israel would not have defied the international community and persisted in its policy of aggression and expansion but for the unlimited support it receives from the United States, since the magnitude of United States assistance increases after each act of aggression Israel commits against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. The United States Government has no qualms about providing Israel with all types of sophisticated military equipment and weapons. It stands alone in the Council in exercising the right of veto against draft resolutions aimed at ending the aggression and achieving the withdrawal of Israel. It sides completely with the aggressor—Israel—and protects its expansionist aspirations. It is clear now that there is a political identification of the United States with Israel which has culminated in the Israeli-American strategic alliance.

46. The vicious imperialist onslaught, under the leadership of the United States and with the participation of Israel, against the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples is a desperate attempt to push through imperialist conspiracies to place the entire Arab region under American control. The expansion of American military bases and the American military buildup in the region fall within these schemes.

47. Peace is indivisible and justice is not confined to any one people. The question of Palestine represents the essence of the struggle in the Middle East. There can be no lasting, comprehensive and just peace without total Israeli withdrawal from the Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent national State, under

the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

48. If the Council is to uphold the seriousness of its resolutions and shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, then it must condemn Israel's expansionist policies and practices in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, which represent a flagrant violation of the principles of international law concerning the protection of civilians in occupied territories, especially the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.[1] We also call upon the Council to take immediate practical steps to deter the aggressor and put an end to Israel's flouting of the Council's resolutions—in this case, especially resolutions 465 (1980) and 466 (1980), which emphasize the illegality of the Israeli settlements.

49. Today the Council is facing a critical and difficult test: either it shoulders its responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security, or the Arab peoples, foremost among whom are the Palestinian people, will lose confidence in the ability of the Council to deter the Israeli aggressor and terminate the policy of terrorism and oppression; the situation in the region would then deteriorate to a point where it would be very difficult to control the course of events.

50. Will the Council make a move?

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is Mr. Massamba Sarré, the representative of Senegal and Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to which the Council, at the 2401st meeting, extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

52. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, the members of the Council, for having been kind enough to allow me to take part in this debate on the situation at present obtaining in the occupied Palestinian territories.

53. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, on acceding to the presidency. You represent a great country, China—which I visited quite recently as part of a peace mission from the United Nations—a country with which my own country has the advantage of enjoying excellent relations of co-operation based on mutual respect. Aware as I am of your deep attachment to the noble purposes of peace and justice as defined in the Charter of the United Nations, I am quite certain that the work of the Council will be crowned with success. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Zimbabwe, who conducted the work of the Council during the month of June with such tact and intelligence.

54. Two weeks ago, as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I addressed both to you and to the Secretary-General a letter in which I drew attention to the growing tension in occupied Palestinian territories as a result of the incidents which had taken place there. In that letter I also requested you to take appropriate steps to restore peace and tranquillity to those areas. Today, once again, high feelings and emotion have prevailed over reason. Violence has now become the law; innocent victims have fallen. Unfortunately, at this rate one cannot but predict other regrettable acts.

55. The Security Council, whose essential purpose is to promote and safeguard peace, international security and justice, should now more than ever be equal to its responsibility in helping to prevent such acts. Indeed, more than that, the Council should avail itself of this opportunity, thus responding to the appeals of the General Assembly and other international bodies, to debate in greater detail the question of Palestine as a whole in order to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution. These constant outbreaks which we have witnessed for some time now are rooted in the fact that the Palestinian question has not yet been settled.

56. I have had frequent occasions to repeat before the Council that to have the advantage of arms and force is not the best way to settle a dispute or a conflict. Rather, what we should do is to promote a climate of mutual trust which would make it possible for all parties concerned to set aside their emotions and resolutely get down to the process of seeking peace, as defined by the United Nations and other appropriate bodies. In this context, I am thinking particularly of the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People which advocate, *inter alia*: Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, in pursuance of Council resolution 242 (1967); implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined in General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), namely, the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes, the right to self-determination without external interference and the right to independence and national sovereignty; the involvement of the PLO in any process that touches upon the future of the Palestinian people; and, finally, the right of all the States of the region to live in peace within recognized and secure frontiers.

57. At the present stage, and in view of all the initiatives that have been taken in recent years, and which presumably will continue in the future, bearing in mind the conference that is soon to be held at Geneva—a conference for negotiation and dialogue—nothing should stand in the way of the implementation of these recommendations, which are, furthermore, in harmony with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

58. I have deliberately not gone into the history of the question of Palestine here in the Council; it is quite well known. On behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I simply wish to say that the acts of violence we have witnessed in

recent months indicate the urgent need to put an end to a situation that has continued for too long, a situation whose consequences for international peace and security are more incalculable than ever before.

59. Those, briefly, are the remarks I wished to make at this time, when the Council is considering the incidents that have occurred in Al-Khalil. I am persuaded that, in its desire to remain faithful to its mandate, the Council will take those steps that will finally throw open the doors to peace and justice for the Palestinian people as well as for all the other peoples and States of the region.

60. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I now call.

61. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to recall the comradely and friendly relations between the great people of China and the Palestinian people and between the Government of China and the PLO. It is a historic fact that China was among the first nations that granted diplomatic recognition to the PLO, if, indeed, the first such recognition did not come from your great nation. I really do not feel I can sufficiently praise your competence, Sir, and your high qualities in conducting the work of the Council.

62. It is a very sad and inhumane occasion that has caused the Council to meet once again to consider the fate of more than 4 million human beings known to some as Palestinians. To us, it is the fate of our people, our nation, our land.

63. The 27th of July was supposed to be the day when Ilham Abuzaru, a 20-year-old university student at the Al-Najah University, was to be married. Instead, her family had to bury her. She had died as a result of the actions of the Zionist aggressors who shot her when she demonstrated against Zionist brutality against her colleagues at Hebron University. But Ilham was only one more victim of those crimes. Her three colleagues were killed the previous day in a dastardly act of genocide committed against Hebron University when Israeli troops—as we know, every Israeli is a member of the Israeli armed forces—raided the university, throwing hand-grenades and gas bombs and using machine-guns and American M-16 rifles, killing three students, young university undergraduates, and wounding 30 others. One would say that this was the behaviour of Nazi occupation forces. But what is still more inhuman—if there is room for humanity any more—is the fact that those three victims were denied normal burial. Their parents were called in the middle of the night and were given the bodies. The parents and the driver and a contingent of Israeli forces took the bodies and, instead of burying them with all respect, the order was given to dump the three corpses in a graveyard. So the Palestinian is denied even the right to be buried and be accorded the normal burial ritual.

64. But, after all, what do we expect of those criminals who killed their own people when they collaborated with the Nazis in Europe? What do we expect of those who sank a ship, the *Patria*, that was carrying survivors from the concentration camps in Europe? This is their nature. I am referring to those racist Zionists who happened to invade our country and cause all these problems.

65. As all members have read in the press, the Israeli soldiers opened fire on students from the Bir Zeit University. As a matter of fact, the reports tell us that a number of tourists from Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, who were visiting in occupied Palestinian territory and were on a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Jerusalem, decided to stage a sit-in on the premises of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Jerusalem. There is still a lot of hope in human nature.

66. Tulkarm was also under restrictions, and the Mayor of Tulkarm had only this to say:

> "This is a dangerous escalation by Zionist extremists whom the enemy's Government protects. In this case, those primarily and ultimately responsible are the occupation authorities."

67. The Mayor of Nablus, Mr. Shaka'a, who not only was expelled by the Israelis but had his limbs blown off—the Council dealt with that case—has spoken of

> "this increased colonization plus the spirit of hatred and crime in attacking national and historic rights and the facts of our people's life in the occupied territories."

68. The Mayor also said that the occupied territories were undergoing a profound and harsh ordeal as a result of constant threats from the racist occupation forces. He added:

> "What happened yesterday expresses the occupation authorities' continuation, with American cover, of their crimes against our Palestinian people, in violation of human rights and international laws and conventions—in the absence, of course, of international will to defend these civilized criteria that we have achieved."

I take it that the Mayor was addressing himself to the Council, and, as the representative of the Palestinian people, I have thought it my duty to bring his message across in the hope that our consciences here might immediately respond to his appeals.

69. What happened today, 28 July? Israeli troops attacked demonstrators and 12 students were injured by the army. When the ambulances rushed to transport the wounded to hospital, they were prevented from doing so by the military reinforcements that were dispatched to Bir Zeit and onto the campus. In addition, the Director of the Rafidia Hospital in Nablus was arrested by the occupation authorities, his crime being treating the

Palestinians who were wounded in the demonstrations. He was ordered not to treat any injured demonstrator without first obtaining written permission from the military government. I do not see how any doctor can carry out his responsibilities and remain faithful to his oath if he must wait until the sergeant in command shows up and authorizes him to remove a bullet from someone's leg or abdomen or head.

70. The Secretary-General has responded and has issued a statement. I wish to thank him for having responded immediately, within his powers, to these acts. As is well known, the Secretary-General issued a statement in which he expressed his shock at the killing of three Palestinians and the wounding of 28 others at the Islamic University in Hebron. He deplored this criminal act of violence and urged the occupying Power to take immediate steps to apprehend the perpetrators and ensure the protection of the local population. I wish to say to the Secretary-General that the apprehension of the perpetrators seems somewhat impossible in view of the fact that the perpetrators of the bombings of the cars of the Mayors of Ramallah and Nablus, an incident that the Council considered, have not yet been apprehended.

71. What is taking place in the occupied Palestinian territories is nothing new. At the meeting of 22 March 1976 [*1893rd meeting*], the attention of the Council was called to the very grave and explosive situation prevailing in the occupied territories. Military occupation engenders resistance, and resistance is a sacred right and duty. I think that all of our colleagues present here who have been under foreign occupation, whether colonial, imperialist, Nazi or neo-Nazi, all who have fought against foreign occupation, know that they must exercise their right to resist it and that it is their duty to do so. At that meeting, we drew the Council's attention to a tendency that was becoming clearer with time. A certain rabbi by the name of Moshe Levinger had appeared on Israeli television on 19 March and had exhorted the townspeople to shoot to kill. The rabbi was occupying part of Hebron at that time. He was reported to have said that he had issued the order because the Arabs had to be taught a lesson and put in their place [*ibid., para. 53*]. By shooting them, one presumes that "putting them in their place" means killing them and dumping them in one of the pits over there. The situation in those territories has not changed in any way for the better. How could it, with occupation by neo-Nazis? The Council had had the matter before it for quite a long time, and in March 1979, in resolution 446 (1979), it established a commission to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. A report submitted by that commission, which was not permitted to investigate what was happening on the spot or on site, contained the following statement:

> "In complete disregard of United Nations resolutions and Security Council decisions, Israel is still pursuing its systematic and relentless process of colonization of the occupied territories. This is evidenced by the stated policy of constructing additional settlements in the most viable parts of the West Bank and by the expansion of others already in existence, as well as the long-term planning of still more settlements." [*S/13679, para. 46.*]

72. In commenting on that report, the Council expressed the opinion that the Israeli Government had to bear responsibility for the settlement programme that it was implementing as official policy. Of course, the way Israel bears its responsibility is to show complete disregard and contempt. And why should it do otherwise, since the Council has been prevented from taking any concrete action and from exercising and invoking the powers vested in it by the Charter of the United Nations which we have adopted and to which we are committed?

73. To turn to the issue before us, the problem in Hebron began in 1968 when Moshe Dayan first permitted and entered upon the process of Judaization of the mosque in that city. For those who may not know it, the mosque was built upon the Machpelah Cave in Hebron by the Muslims out of respect for the Patriarch Abraham, a clear evidence of their respect for him. This mosque is still standing after 13 or 14 centuries. The recent occurrence there was an escalated provocation by the settlers, who wanted to expand. The Government of Israel, which is the occupying Power, using the pretext of security needs, occupies a building and then eventually hands it over to the settlers. On the pretext of security, therefore, the Israelis can expropriate without having to go through any legal process. It is security, after all.

74. Then, on 10 July 1983, the Deputy Prime Minister, a certain David Levi, who is also the Minister for Housing, told reporters that the Israeli cabinet had decided on a two-stage plan for the construction of a Jewish quarter in Hebron. That plan projected the settlement in the next three years of 500 Jewish families in the commercial heart of the city. Establishing that number of residences or houses for those people would entail the eviction or expulsion of the population—or its elimination; should it insist on defending its right to survive and to stay in its own homes, the Israelis would have only one way to deal with that, and that is physical elimination. That campaign of intimidation, the campaign of terror, would eventually become a real campaign of physical elimination of the Palestinian people.

75. Of course, some Israelis might say: "Oh, but this is done by those fanatics who want to be in Kiryat Arba," or whatever it is, but we know that the Nahal, the army units that combine settlement activities with military service, also are involved in this process. They are planning to establish nine military settlements in Judaea and Samaria within the next few months. Thus, the Council can see that one cannot really draw a distinction between an illegal fanatic group and the Nahal and in the final analysis what is known as the Israel Defence Forces, which is in fact a Nazi blitzkrieg group.

76. Then the Israelis thought that the Municipal Council of Hebron was not really accommodating, and all of

a sudden they decided that the Mayor and the Council should be expelled. What is the charge there? According to *The Jerusalem Post*: "The court has issued an interim injunction barring any further demolition or construction in the Jewish quarter. Among Al-Natshe's"—Al-Natshe is the name of the Mayor of Hebron—" 'administrative irregularities' and 'criminal offences' which justified his dismissal was the fact that he had petitioned the court." The fact is that Al-Natshe petitioned the High Court of Justice and that is where he received that injunction, simply because he had exercised a right to go to the court in a so-called democratic State. I emphasize "democratic". Anyone who goes to the High Court of Justice is fired. I think that the next move would be that he would be fired on and eliminated.

77. Another of the accusations on the basis of which he was fired was that he had been receiving enemy funds. What were those enemy funds? It is true that the Arab world and our Arab brothers and the Palestinians away from Palestine contribute to the development of their home towns. Naturally, Hebron receives contributions from sister municipalities, from Palestinians who live away from there and make some money. Because the city of Hebron receives some money for local development and for a local development programme, the Mayor is expelled.

78. What is a travesty of justice here is that neither the first charge nor the second was brought to court. The man was summarily fired. According to *The Jerusalem Post*—and it has a nice comment here: "One does not have to be a lawyer to know that publishing such charges without proving them is a libel." This libel is committed by the Government of Israel against Palestinians.

79. *The Jerusalem Post* had a long editorial on this travesty of justice. My eye was caught by a passage saying that the answers given by the Israeli authorities would not "solve the basic problem posed by Jewish settlers in the heart of Hebron who were regarded as illegal by Prime Minister Begin's first government". I repeat that word, "illegal": the settlements are illegal. Maybe not only would Prime Minister Begin's first government reiterate that, but Washington would again understand that even the Israelis consider those settlements to be illegal, so I do not see what the United States is defending there. Because the United States is defending the Israelis, the Israelis have no reason to heed and abide by Security Council resolutions.

80. On the day that the young Aharon Gross was killed in Hebron, the Mayor of Hebron himself issued a statement in which he said: "Such acts create disturbances and instability; violence does not serve the inhabitants, but rather makes life tenser." That was the comment of the Mayor of Hebron when young Aharon Gross, an American citizen who was there to settle, maybe in the house of an Arab, was killed in the streets of Hebron.

81. It was alleged in the press that Israeli soldiers stationed nearby did not run to help Aharon Gross because they thought he was an Arab. So, when an Arab is stabbed, one can let him bleed and die. So what?

82. Is this all accidental? It is not, because Interior Minister Yosef Burg has made it very clear that the right of Jews to live in Hebron is "above any discussion".

83. Moshe Arens, the ex-diplomat in Washington, now visiting Washington as Defence Minister, has said that Israel, with one of the world's best armies, does not need and will not have private militias. Mr. Arens, a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology—a superfabricant of sophisticated planes, etc.—says that Israel does not need those militias, yet members of them even go to their Friday night religious ritual with machine-guns, simply because they know that they are trespassing.

84. The question remains: what is the job of the Israeli military governor in the occupied Palestinian territories? It has not changed. In February 1982, the professor who was a general, or the general who became a professor and who was a military governor—he eventually resigned because he realized that he was really committing a crime against humanity—said:

> "There is an understanding that the separation of executive functions between military and civilian affairs would better suit the needs of the population and the policy aims of the Government. But, of course, we hope and believe that the atmosphere in the area will be such that moderate people, pragmatic people, will be encouraged to join the peace process, and in that respect we may be in a sense preparing a political atmosphere which may be conducive to the full implementation of the Camp David accords."

He continued, saying that it is

> "only through legitimation from within that we can help realize the Zionist dream, subjugate the Palestinians and seek acquiescence from the neighbouring Arabs".

85. Mr. Milson, the military general who became a professor, realized that what he had written and said was not true because there was no way for him to encourage people to live in peace and join the peace process. His mission was subjugation, and the Palestinians under occupation will certainly not be sitting ducks but will resist, for that is their right and their duty.

86. The Council is meeting; what do we really expect from this meeting? The Council is in a position—and has the power under the Charter—to ask for an immediate termination of the occupation. After all, there is unanimity that that occupation is illegal. Why, then, should the Council not take action to see to it that that occupation is brought to an end? If a State Member of the United Nations refuses to comply, then the Council can, of course, apply the provisions of the Charter. There is no room in the United Nations for people who reject the decisions of the Council, especially when that rejection brings so much misery and bloodshed into the country—my country.

87. As to the role of the United States, I am not fooled by statements that it condemns some terrorist acts somewhere. I cannot explain a condemnation of a terrorist act when a Government like that of the United States has donated to Israel, from 1948 to 1982, $24 billion. Since 1974, almost half of Israel's military assistance from the United States has been in the form of grants; since 1975, economic aid has taken the form of cash transfers, meaning that funds are not linked to specific programmes or commodity import requirements. So we can see that the financier of all these crimes is the United States Government. I should not like to tell the United States how it can use the American taxpayer's money for better purposes.

88. According to a report by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, Israeli expectations are that the United States will fund half of Israel's defence budget. Israeli documents show that United States assistance funded 37 per cent of the Israeli defence budget for fiscal 1982.

89. That information is drawn from a paragraph which does not appear in a report on United States assistance to the State of Israel: it was deleted. I am shocked that this report, prepared by the United States General Accounting Office, was sent to the Congress—to the representatives of the American people—with such a paragraph deleted. They even censor their own reports to their own people. Talk about democracy and freedom!

90. In the State Department—and this too has been censored—it is believed that $1.7 billion will become the new minimum for aid to Israel for arms and so forth.

91. But there is something still more drastic here. The United States is financing the Israeli military industry, which sells to the world arms and ammunition worth more that $2 billion. The same report—and this is another paragraph that was deleted: maybe they are afraid of their own people; I do not know—says that:

> "The demand for Israel's military equipment is growing. Israel's increased capabilities in the production of high-technology military items and the growing demand for this equipment will serve to boost foreign sales. The market for Israeli-produced equipment will be enhanced because its effectiveness in combat was demonstrated in Lebanon"—poor Lebanese people, poor Lebanon. "The picture would brighten for Israeli military exports even more if the United States permits third-world transfers and assists the Israelis in their exports to the American market."

92. I do not think I need any further proof of the collusion, the complicity, of the United States in these criminal acts against our people and against the stability of our region.

93. Once again: what do we expect from the Council? We expect some action and that the action should come in the form of very clear-cut language demanding that Israel withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the occupied territories: the Palestinian and other Arab territories and Jerusalem. I do not think that the Council will have a problem with that. The problem for the Council will be how to implement such a resolution. I am not here to suggest or prescribe a formula, but I think that the Council should be enabled to do this. If not, the Council will be condemning the region to perpetual bloodshed and to perpetual crimes against the Palestinian people and the Arab people.

94. We trust and we hope that, before these meetings end, such a decision will be taken.

95. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Sir, since this is the first time I am addressing the Council under your presidency, I wish to join my colleagues who have done so before me in offering our congratulations to you on your assumption of this high office for the month of July. The skill and wisdom with which you have guided the important work of the Council during this month have been exemplary. I wish also to pay a warm tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Mashingaidze, of Zimbabwe, who conducted the work of the Council last month with great distinction and success.

96. The Council is addressing itself once again today to a grave situation in the occupied Arab territories. The tragic events which are unfolding before our eyes deepen the concern and anguish of the international community. The representative of Jordan; the representative of Democratic Yemen, Chairman of the Group of Arab States; and the Observer of the PLO have already described in detail the spiral of violence which is gripping Hebron, Nablus and other cities in the occupied West Bank, as well as the recent instances of persecution and harassment of the Palestinian population by the Israeli occupation authorities.

97. The death of three Palestinians at the hands of Israeli terrorists and the violent means with which the Israeli authorities suppressed the protests of the Palestinians in Hebron and other cities are links in a chain of unrelieved tragedy for the Palestinian people, starkly exemplified in the massacre of the innocents at Sabra and Shatila. This violence is the direct consequence of Israel's continued occupation of the Arab and Palestinian lands and of its relentless policy, pursued in defiance of world opinion, of absorbing the occupied territories into a Greater Israel.

98. The violence in Hebron reminds us that the situation in the Middle East will remain explosive and the threat posed by it to international peace and security will continue to grow as long as Israel persists in the occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories and refuses to respect the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to freedom and nationhood.

99. The Council must fulfil its responsibility to protect the Arab and Palestinian population of the occupied territories and save them from the systematic campaign of harassment and threats which is being carried out with the sole objective of driving them out of their homeland to make place for new Israeli settlers.

100. The Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are the principal vehicle of the Israeli policy of annexing those territories and expelling the Arab and Palestinian inhabitants. The settlements have also become the main source of violence and conflict. Not only have they been established on usurped Arab land and property but settlers are allowed to carry arms, which is a constant source of harassment and provocation to Arab inhabitants, inevitably leading to tension and clashes.

101. The events in Hebron are a grim reminder of the consequences of the Israeli decision to create a settlement in the heart of that city. This is not an isolated decision. Israel's relentless pursuit of its settlement policy is evident from information contained in a letter dated 25 May from the representative of Jordan concerning Israeli settlement activities during the months of March and April 1983 [*S/15810, annexes I and II*]. In those two months, the Israeli occupation authorities established three new settlements and confiscated 33,050 dunums of land in the West Bank. The letter also points to an Israeli scheme for the establishment of 15 new settlements around the city of Jerusalem [*ibid., annex III*].

102. It is well known that, within the broader perspective of the fundamental prerequisites for peace in the Middle East, an essential step required of Israel is to abandon its policies of repression and halt the establishment and expansion of its illegal settlements in the occupied territories.

103. The Council pronounced itself unequivocally on the illegality of Israel's settlement policy in resolution 252 (1968). Subsequently, in resolution 465 (1980), the Council determined that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof have no legal validity and that Israel's settlement policy constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] and also a serious obstacle to achieving peace in the Middle East.

104. The Council must reaffirm its stand that the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are illegal and must make yet another effort to compel Israel to respect the Council's relevant resolutions.

105. Israel must realize that peace can be achieved only on the basis of justice and international law. Its policies of repression in the Palestinian homeland and its wars of aggression against Arab neighbours have demonstrated that peace cannot be built by the use of force and terror. The resolutions of the Council and various other peace initiatives, in particular the peace plan adopted at the conclusion of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982 [*see S/15510, annex*], have offered several opportunities to bring the Middle East conflict to an end. Instead of grasping these opportunities for peace, Israel has responded by a greater assertion of its military preponderance and a more vivid demonstration of its will to perpetuate its occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories.

106. In resorting to the Council, the Arab States and the PLO have once again shown their faith in and reliance on the United Nations for the resolution of the Palestinian question and the settlement of the Middle East conflict. The Council's capacity to act in the face of Israel's intransigence remains seriously impaired by the protection and support available to Israel from powerful friends and allies. It is these friends and allies which bear the chief responsibility for exerting influence on Israel to abide by the universally recognized norms of international law and behaviour. It is they, again, whose actions will enable the Council to fulfil its promises to the Palestinian and Arab people in the occupied territories.

107. It must be remembered that the tragic death of innocent Palestinians in the city of Hebron, which has caused us to meet today, is a manifestation of the grim reality of the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories, for which Israel must assume full responsibility. Israel can be restrained only if the Council can fulfil its clear responsibility to censure Israel's conduct and condemn its policies of repression and violence in the occupied territories.

108. In the kind of world in which we live, repeated encounter with tragedy can breed insensitivity to injustice, suffering and pain and induce loss of the ability to feel moral anger. Let us not lay ourselves open to such a charge by failing to respond appropriately to the consequences and the fact of Israeli occupation of the Palestinian homeland and the denial of the Palestinian people's fundamental human rights.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

110. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): At the outset may I thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, the members of the Council, for the courtesy of having invited me to address the Council.

111. I should like to take this opportunity to felicitate you, Sir—a distinguished diplomat of outstanding qualities from a country with which India has cordial relations—on your assumption of the presidency for the month of July. Your ready response to the request for the convening of the Council to consider the recent developments in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories is indeed a testimony to your concern and sensitivity to the enormity of the problems faced by the Palestinians under Israeli occupation. It is our sincere expectation that the current series of meetings under your able presidency, combining your personal charm and high diplomatic skill, will lead to effective action by the Council to restore the rule of law and respect for human rights in occupied Arab lands.

112. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, which met in New York yesterday, heard extremely moving accounts of the recent developments in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories from the representative of the PLO. Our feelings of anguish and

indignation have been further deepened after hearing his presentation to the Council today.

113. The representatives who have spoken before me have again placed before the Council a detailed exposé of the recent tragic events in the occupied territories, providing clear evidence of the increasing acts of brutality and repression being perpetrated there by the Israeli authorities. We have been following with increasing concern and alarm the continuing policy of oppression and acts of terrorism pursued by the Israeli occupation forces in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories. We have been shocked, in particular, to learn of the occurrences in the city of Al-Khalil (Hebron) where armed Israeli elements raided Hebron University, throwing hand-grenades and gas bombs while shooting at random at the students; this resulted in the death of a number of students and the wounding of many others. This is not an isolated event; similar serious armed attacks have been reported in Nablus and Bir Zeit. Raids and indiscriminate killing, murder, torture, imprisonment and harassment of Palestinians have become daily occurrences. The present incidents have come in the wake of numerous tragic incidents following the genocidal massacres at Sabra and Shatila. Israel has been relentlessly pursuing its policy of intimidation of the civilian population and consolidation of its stranglehold over the occupied Arab territories.

114. The time has come to put an immediate end to the bloodshed and continuing harassment of the Palestinians and to restore peace and order in the occupied territories. The Council should take determined action to deal with the present situation, which constitutes a flagrant violation of international law. Israel should be called to account for its innumerable acts of omission and commission. It is imperative that Israel should be made to discharge its obligations under the relevant international conventions that dictate civilized behaviour on the part of occupying Powers towards the people of occupied territories. Israel's policies and practices of establishing settlements in the occupied territories are illegal and contrary to resolutions of the United Nations, and, as such, they should be denounced. At the same time, the international community should strive for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the conflict in West Asia without which no peace can prevail in the region.

115. The fundamental principles of, and the basic framework for, a solution of the conflict in West Asia already exist in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in the Fez peace plan [*ibid.*] and in the declarations of the non-aligned countries, most recently the Political Declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983 [*S/15675 and Corr.1 and 2, annex*]. These principles are well known and need no reiteration. No solution to the problem of the Middle East can be envisaged without taking into account the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the exercise by them of their right to self-determination. Our efforts so far to find a comprehensive solution to the problem have not succeeded mainly due to the arrogance and intransigence of Israel, which has deliberately defied the will of the international community. The time has come to put an end to this situation and to strive for a just, durable and comprehensive peace in West Asia which would enable the Palestinian people to exercise their rights in freedom and sovereignty in their independent homeland.

116. The Council should take effective and urgent action to prevent further bloodshed and misery in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. It should also condemn the recent incidents in Hebron and other cities and fix responsibility for these atrocities on the occupying Israeli forces. The Council should declare again in categorical and unambiguous terms the illegality and inadmissibility of the policies and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and should secure the annulment of all measures and actions taken by Israel in this direction. Lastly, the Council should strive to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine on a priority basis. India, as the current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and as a country which has stood by the Palestinians in their legitimate struggle for nationhood, stands ready to co-operate with the members of the Council in their endeavours in this direction.

117. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

118. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Mr. President, I thank you for calling on me again. I have just received the following message from Mr. Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO. It is in Arabic because it was dictated to us by telephone.

> "The Security Council of the United Nations meets at the request of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to consider the barbaric acts of aggression committed by armed Zionist groups, with the direct participation of the Israeli army and with the support of the Israeli Government, against our people in the occupied Palestinian territories. The latest of these acts of aggression was the horrible massacre perpetrated by those gangs on the campus of Al-Khalil University.
>
> "The actions of the occupying enemy are aimed at placing our people in the occupied Palestinian territories before two options: either to die at the hands of these criminal gangs or to abandon its territory. The aggressors used automatic weapons and grenades and transformed the campus of one of our largest universities in the West Bank into a battlefield containing the bodies of our students, male and female, thus committing another crime to be added to the annals of their crimes and massacres, which have not ceased against our people throughout the history of its struggle to establish its national independent existence, with the aim of undermining the steadfastness of this

people, displacing it and occupying its land to expand their aggressive entity.

"The dismissal of the Mayor of Al-Khalil and of the elected Municipal Council and their replacement with Israeli military personnel, in addition to the demolition of the houses of Palestinian Arab citizens, the desecration of our holy places in Al-Khalil, the displacement of the people to replace them with Zionist settlers, the arrest of hundreds of citizens and the oppression and repression of our people in other cities, such as Bir Zeit—all of this reinforces our conviction that the occupying invaders are persisting in their criminal scheme, despite international condemnation, and riding roughshod over all international laws and norms and resolutions of the United Nations.

"The acts perpetrated at Al-Khalil University are a link in the series of deliberate and planned acts of aggressions committed by the Israeli Government against our educational and cultural institutions, whether by imposing a blockade on the universities of Bir Zeit, Bethlehem or Al-Najah, in Nablus, or through the dismissal of professors and the arrest of hundreds of students, the closing down of universities and the repeated attempts at interfering in curricula under the pretext that those universities have been transformed into hotbeds of support for the PLO and resistance against the Zionist occupation.

"The PLO is confident that you stand by our people in the face of these barbaric crimes committed by racist, Nazi and Fascist régimes against centres of education, culture and civilization. The PLO calls upon the international community, which you represent in the Security Council, its living conscience, to condemn these racist practices and to seek to put an end to them and to support the inalienable national rights of our people, including its right to return, its right to self-determination and its right to establish its own independent Palestinian State on the soil of its national land.

"Our people looks forward to your meetings, fully confident of your support for its struggle and its inalienable rights and certain that you stand strongly against aggression and against racist aggressors.

"Wishing you success—it is a revolution until victory."*

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

NOTE

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

* Quoted in Arabic by the speaker.

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SECURITY COUNCIL
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2458th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 29 July 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. LING Qing (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2458)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
   Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a. i. of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599);
   Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15764);
   Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890).

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
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Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2401st, 2412th to 2414th, 2438th and 2457th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Qatar, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Kirça (Turkey), Mr. Al-Qasimi (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The first speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

3. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Egyptian delegation, Sir, is pleased to see China presiding over the Council. The friendship between Egypt and

China is deep and long-standing. The relationship between our two countries was consolidated by the recent visit of President Hosni Mubarak to China. In fact, he is the fist Egyptian President to have visited China. I wish also to express our deep appreciation for the wisdom you have displayed in your guidance of the proceedings of the Council during the present month. This is in keeping with your well-known competence.

4. I am pleased also to convey to your predecessor, the representative of Zimbabwe, our congratulations on a job well done as President of the Council during the month of June.

5. The Council is meeting again today to resume consideration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, a situation that has deteriorated owing to Israel's policy and the conduct of the occupation authorities in those territories. We are confident that the Council, by virture of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter of the United Nations, will not disregard the plight of the Palestinian people living under the yoke of Israeli occupation, especially in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This occupation is coupled with a far more serious phenomenon that has often been declared by the international community as violating international norms and jeopardizing opportunities for peace; to put it more correctly, it is the Israeli policy—planned, signed and sealed—to build settlements, displace the Arab inhabitants, deport them from their lands and homes and replace them with new settlers.

6. The Israeli presence in the West Bank and Gaza is, as is known, that of an occupying Power in Palestinian territories, an occupation that came about as the result of a military invasion followed by an illegal occupation, in 1967. It is a situation that falls under the terms of Council resolution 242 (1967), which emphasizes the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. It also falls legally under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] regulating occupation situations. However, Israel rejects both. It refuses to withdraw from the territories and obstructs any action conducive to progress towards a genuine settlement of the Palestinian question, a settlement which to be viable must be just, must be arrived at by peaceful means and must restore to the Palestinian people all their legitimate rights.

7. Not only is Israel not content with rejecting implementation of, or adherence to, the rules of the Geneva Convention, but it also persists in carrying out its arbitrary policy in the Palestinian territories, as follows: first, by annexing new territories to Israel, as in the case of Arab Jerusalem; secondly, by colonizing other territories and illegally establishing new settlements; thirdly, by displacing the Arab inhabitants overtly by repressive measures, arbitrary actions and constraints imposed by the occupation authorities which, ultimately, compel the Arab inhabitants to leave, or through terrorism carried out by armed groups of settlers with impunity and without compunction, such as those who opened fire indiscriminately against the students of the Islamic University of Al-Khalil; fourthly, by spreading anxiety and fear among those Palestinians who remain in order to make them accept the existing repressive situation and acquiesce in the colonizers' demands; fifthly, by eliminating all attempts aimed at building pillars of coexistence between the Jewish and Arab peoples and by rejecting all measures conducive to building confidence between the two parties. Israel goes so far as to undermine all channels of communication, dismiss mayors and disolve municipal councils, imprison defenceless inhabitants and impose curfews.

8. The policy of building settlements in the occupied Arab territories is parallel with trampling on the rights of the Arab inhabitants of those territories, including their human rights, at a time when Israel is constantly paying lip-service to human rights in the East and the West.

9. The sowing of seeds of malice, through these measures and acts, and the renewal of attacks against defenceless civilians are mainly the result of Israel's persistence in occupying Arab territories and its adherence to the policy of establishing settlements, applying that policy to the Arab inhabitants, who have no recourse but to exercise their natural right to defend what remains of their property, territory and homeland.

10. Their legitimate protests are called a "rebellion", and we see mayors dismissed and municipal councils dissolved with a stroke of the pen. They are described as "agitators" who deserve nothing from the occupation authorities other than deportation, expulsion, displacement, curtailment of their livelihood, imprisonment or even worse. We have heard certain officials in Israel describe the treacherous, armed ravaging of the Islamic University of Al-Khalil as a terrorist act. However, we also hear certain statements ascribed to official Israeli sources to the effect that the arms in the hands of groups of Israeli settlers are legitimate and legal.

11. Egypt considers Israel directly responsible for the act of aggression against the Islamic University of Al-Khalil. Since it is the occupying Power, it is responsible for acts of aggression against the security and safety of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank. We declare from this rostrum that all States should alert Israel to this fact.

12. I shall not be revealing a secret here if I draw attention to the fact that Cairo newspapers published in the last two days contained ample references to an urgent message sent on 27 July to Mr. Shultz, United States Secretary of State, by Mr. Kamal Hassan Ali, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, in which the latter indicated to Mr. Shultz Egypt's point of view concerning the attack against Al-Khalil University. Mr. Kamal Hassan Ali called upon the United States to assume its responsibilities within the framework of its role in the peace process in the Middle East.

13. Egypt has officially denounced the terrorist attack against the students of Al-Khalil University and the ensuing arbitrary measures adopted by the Israeli occupation authorities. This shameful act of aggression confirms the incredible plight of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and the extent of the danger to which they are exposed. Egypt calls for the taking of all necessary measures to arrest the terrorists who are responsible and bring them to trial to prevent the repetition of such actions.

14. The crux of the problem of the Middle East has been and will always be the question of Palestine. It is obvious that Israel is attempting to evade the question of Palestine by masking it behind other priorities and questions in order to try to distract attention from the oppressive measures it is carrying out and its attempts to change the characteristics of the Palestinian entity in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, falsely thinking that that will make the Palestinians finally submit to its authority. The holding of power will not lead to the establishment of the peace which the international community so much desires, and it will not change the reality of Palestinian existence and the question of the Palestinian people. The exercise of domination and power and the oppression of defenceless civilians cannot be called peace. How many actions have been committed in the name of peace? Throughout history crimes have been committed in the name of liberty.

15. The deteriorating situation in the occupied territories requires explicit and decisive action by the Council. The international community should hold Israel completely responsible. It should be questioned about its acts by the international community, which sees its principles, the basis of its conduct, and its laws flouted and trampled upon. The Council has already pronounced itself on the illegality of the policy of building settlements in the occupied territories and has determined that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, are null and void and a barrier to peace [*resolution 465 (1980)*].

16. We call today on all the members of the Council without exception to take a decisive position *vis-à-vis* the settlement policies and practices in the occupied Arab territories so that the Council can assume its responsibilities at this difficult stage. The Council must take a position on a situation that never ceases to worsen for the Arab population.

17. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, like other aspects of the situation in the Middle East, has become a permanent feature of the Council's agenda. One fifth of all the meetings of the Council have been devoted to these matters. That is quite natural. Every day brings reports from the Middle East about fresh atrocities and crimes committed by the Israeli authorities in the Arab territories that have been misappropriated by Israel as a result of aggression. An ever clearer picture emerges of the scope of the expansionist designs of Tel Aviv, whose ultimate goal is to annex the Palestinian and other Arab lands seized in 1967 and to render a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem impossible. It does its best, as in Lebanon, to seize further Arab territories.

18. The Council cannot and should not remain indifferent to such illegal acts, which are systematically perpetrated by the Israeli aggressors on Arab soil.

19. The policies of the Israeli occupier have frequently been properly evaluated in a number of Council resolutions. In connection with the item we are considering today, we should in particular be mindful of the fact that, in resolution 465 (1980), the Council declared that the measures being taken by Israel to alter the physical character, demographic composition and institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, have no legal validity. At that time, the Council called upon Israel to rescind those measures, to dismantle the existing settlements and, in particular, to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories.

20. What was Israel's response to those fair and, let us be quite frank, clearly minimal demands? It was the annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, further aggressive sorties against neighbouring Arab States and a vast and bloody invasion in Lebanon. It responded by constructing dozens of new settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, where it continues methodically to carry out plans to locate thousands of new settlers. Finally, Israel responded with an abrupt escalation of mass terror and repression against the population of the occupied territories.

21. It must be perfectly obvious that the Israeli ruling clique is pursuing an increasingly dangerous and more irresponsible policy. By relying on brute military force, Israel is impudently throwing down the gauntlet to the international community.

22. All these are well-known facts. But it is even more important to understand why Israel can, in fact, behave in this manner. There is one reason: it is relying on the support of poweful protectors and partners overseas. In this context, the policies of Washington are year by year and day by day becoming more and more clearly pro-Israel in orientation. New facts attesting to this are constantly coming to our attention, facts that were until quite recently kept secret.

23. It is now an established fact that when Israel's Prime Minister Begin made his first visit to Washington in July 1977—precisely six years ago—he secured from President Carter the following promise, namely, that President Carter would no longer publicly refer to Israel's withdrawing to the boundaries of 1967 "with slight modifications". And, in fact, since that time the

United States has remained silent on that point, as if the cat had got its tongue.

24. It is now an established fact that when, in March 1978, Begin once again had talks in Washington with the President of the United States, the President gave the following account of his understanding of Israel's position to that country's Prime Minister, namely, according to the President's summary, that, first, Israel was not willing to retreat either politically or militarily from any part of the West Bank and, secondly, that Israel was unwilling to cease the construction of new settlements or to restrict the expansion of existing ones. For his part, Begin told the United States President that that was a rather negative way of expressing the Israeli position, but that he did not in fact deny the correctness of this understanding. Thus, only five years ago the United States had a very clear idea of what Israel wanted in the West Bank. Nevertheless, it continued—and it still continues—to support Tel Aviv.

25. It is another established fact that, in September 1978, Begin told the Americans that he found the language of Council resolution 242 (1967) unacceptable when it referred to the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war". According to what Begin said to Carter, the 1967 war gave Israel the right to alter the boundaries. Begin told the United States President that for that reason Israel would under no circumstances agree to any document that included such language. As we know, that language was in fact entirely deleted by the United States from the Camp David agreements.

26. This, therefore, is the reason for the growing arrogance of Israel. The United States gives in to every new demand Israel makes, at the expense of the Arabs. A further step in this direction is the stated position of the present United States Administration that the Israeli settlements on Arab lands are, in the eyes of the United States, legal. After all that, the United States has gone on to declare Israel its "strategic partner". Those who have ears to hear, let them hear, because these are incontrovertible facts.

27. There can be no shadow of a doubt that responsibility for the present tragedy in the Middle East and the further aggravation of the situation in that part of the world is borne equally by Israel and the United States.

28. As for the Soviet Union, its position is briefly as follows: the Soviet Union has unswervingly supported and will continue to support the just cause of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and their valiant struggle for their inalienable legal rights. The Soviet Union firmly holds that a genuine solution to the Palestinian question and other problems of the Middle East can be achieved only as part of a comprehensive settlement on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions. Only honest efforts, only collective efforts with the participation of all parties concerned, including, of course, the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, can bring about a just and—for that reason—a durable peace in the Middle East.

29. We are convinced of the rightness of our position. The future will prove it to be correct.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

NOTE

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

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2459th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 1 August 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2459)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
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   Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15764);
   Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890).

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Since this is the first meeting of the Council in August, I should like to express, on behalf of the Council, profound gratitude to the President for the month of July, Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of China, for the great diplomatic skill, patience and courtesy with which he conducted the Council's proceedings last month.

2. I should like to add that, as everyone can see, we are not meeting in the customary Council chamber and that, in a purely physical sense, the President is seated higher and, unfortunately, farther away from the members of the Council. I should like to assure all my colleagues that this is not arrogance on my part, nor any attempt—which would be absurd—to tamper with the rules of procedure. Indeed, I should like to see the Council meeting once again in its own chamber as soon as possible so that the President may once again find himself immersed, as it were, like a fish in water, among his fellow members of the Council.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
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Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2401st, 2412th to 2414th, 2438th and 2457th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Qatar, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Caballero Rodríguez

(Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Kirça (Turkey), Mr. Al-Qasimi (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Bangladesh, Djibouti, Iraq, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Sabbagh (Bahrain), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Houfane (Djibouti), Mr. Mohammad (Iraq), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ould Hamody (Mauritania), Mr. Ali (Oman), Mr. Zowawi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Madar (Somalia), Mr. Elfaki (Sudan) and Mr. Lessir (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them document S/15895, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the following countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

6. The first speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, permanent observer of the League of Arab States, whom the Council invited at its 2412th meeting in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. MAKSOUD (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am honoured, Sir, to extend congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, not only because of your well-known wisdom and your knowledge of details and the essence of things, but also because the country you represent is for all of us one of the friendly major Powers whose policies are characterized by independence and objectivity. We hope that relations between the Arab and French peoples will continue, as always, to be marked by great and deep friendship.

8. I should like also to commend the wise presidency of your predecessor, the representative of China, whose tenure was characterized by his well-known statesmanship and wisdom. Indeed, the Arab people feel extremely grateful to the great people of China for their unceasing support, on all levels, of Arab causes.

9. The painful and tragic events that occurred in the Palestinian city of Al-Khalil and led to the martyrdom of a number of students at the Islamic University are not isolated events. They represent not only criminal acts by the occupying authorities but also the expression of a consistent pattern in Israel's settlements policy in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. Hence, what happened in Al-Khalil does not constitute a transient phenomenon; it must be looked at as the crystallization and continuous expression of the fact that Israel intends to commit these barbaric acts in the occupied Arab territories—particularly in Palestine—because it seeks to displace the population by inflicting all manner of oppression and torture in order to be able to undertake the process of Judaization as a prelude to the annexation and assimilation of land and the displacement of populations.

10. It follows that the events that occurred in the city of Al-Khalil are part of a whole, the most recent expression of a consistent pattern, the reflection of a deliberate policy. The whole process of establishing settlements—which has been declared null and void on many occasions—is a policy designed to pre-empt the establishment of any national entity for the Palestinians and to create the prelude to the realization of the Zionist dogma of annexing and assimilating lands into so-called Greater Israel.

11. Hence, when the Arabs have recourse to the Security Council as the supreme international authority responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, they do so out of respect for the United Nations and because of their commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, out of respect for international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and out of respect for all the organs and institutions of the United Nations, through which the Organization is endeavouring to restore a just peace in the region and throughout the world.

12. Moreover, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, at a meeting held with members of the United Nations Secretariat about a month ago, affirmed the firm resolve of the Arabs to encourage the United Nations to seek more credibility for its resolutions, more efficiency for its organs and more reliability for the Articles of the Charter. Hence, when the Arabs have recourse to the Security Council and the United Nations, it is proof of their commitment to principle; it is the expression of their conviction, in addition to the expression of a need. That is why the Arabs are most concerned about the credibility of the United Nations; they would like its resolutions, in particular those of the Council, to regain their prestige and their effectiveness, so that no one can sav

that the Council's resolutions have almost become dead letters that are duly entered in legal annals but are not applicable or viable. The credibility gap between the declarations of the United Nations and its actions was brought about by Israel and the other racist entity, South Africa, with a view to preventing the United Nations from assuming its duties and performing its functions *vis-à-vis* the world and humanity by implementing its Charter and resolutions.

13. It is truly painful to see a major Power, the United States, on many occasions condoning those who, like Israel, are attempting to undermine the credibility of the United Nations and particularly the Security Council. One therefore wonders about the commitment to the spirit and letter of the law that the United States attempts at times to invoke, to the effect that the actions by the Israeli settler-colonialists in Al-Khalil are an internal issue and that the Israeli military and judicial authorities are undertaking an investigation—as though the arming of those whom Israel calls "fanatics" were not part and parcel of the Israeli settler entity in the West Bank, as though the arming of those people had not been carried out by licence issued by Israel itself, as though the weapons they use against the innocent Palestinians were illegal in the Israeli concept, as though they were insurgents against the Israeli authorities and not in fact a complementary weapon serving Israel's expansionist aims in occupied Palestine.

14. And so we wonder, together with the rest of the world, how those settlers can claim that they want to settle in the Arab city of Al-Khalil on the basis that there had once been Jews in Al-Khalil. If we applied this same logic—and we are ready to apply it—it would be imperative for the people of Palestine who were displaced from their cities—Haifa, Jaffa, Lod, Acre and hundreds of other cities, towns and villages in Palestine—to return, although there is no comparison between the legitimate right of Palestinians to return to their cities, towns, and villages and the fabricated right of persons to claim Al-Khalil because they came from Brooklyn and other American cities—a "right" imposed through suppression and occupation. By contrast, the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, their cities, towns and villages in all of Palestine is continuous, inherited and internationally recognized.

15. Hence, these spurious claims invoked by Israel through the presence and proliferation of its settlements are designed to pre-empt Palestinian national unity, because Israel contests the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination on what is part of its own land and country.

16. Documents abound—and further evidence and proof emerge day after day—attesting to the violation by the occupier Israel of the national, human and legal rights of the Palestinian people.

17. The world grows more convinced daily that Israel's actions in the occupied territories are in contravention of international law, in violation of Council resolutions, a breach of the Charter and even a breach of the declared demands of the United States, Israel's only ally in the area. How else can one explain the failure of the United States to join in condemning Israel for its actions that are anomalous under American law and in the context of declared United States policies? How can one explain that, whenever we come to the Council, the United States says it is undertaking initiatives, whether those of Camp David in the past, Reagan's initiative of about a year ago, or other frequent initiatives designed to convince us of the non-viability of resort to the Council? These initiatives have been called "the only game in town": either acquiesce in this "game" or be prevented from exercising any other diplomatic and political options.

18. Let us assume that we believe that United States initiatives, since they are undertaken by a super-Power, deserve our attention and that they form part of our policies. For the sake of argument, let us say that we depend on the seriousness and viability of these initiatives. We did that by informing the United States that President Reagan's initiative[1] was sufficiently worthy of attention for us to acknowledge the rightness of some of its features. We have repeatedly informed the United States that we have reservations concerning other aspects of the Reagan initiative. We agreed, selectively, to study the aspects of this initiative; but Begin and Israel rejected it 24 hours after it was declared. What was the result? Israel's rejection of the Reagan initiative has become part of the considerations borne in mind by the United States Administration in dealing with the Middle East problem. Yet, the Arabs, at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, were prepared to make concessions and to hold a dialogue on this initiative. That willingness, however, was interpreted as Arab reluctance to deal seriously with the United States. Such inverted logic quickly led to even greater reservations on the part of many Arabs because, although willing to depend on the Reagan initiative and the authority of the United States over Israel, they do not want to be captives.

[*The speaker spoke in English.*]

Our betting on American initiatives should not and will not lead to our becoming hostage to American initiatives.

[*The speaker continued in Arabic.*]

19. When we look at this situation from the general perspective, we find that the United States, in the person of its President, asked Israel to freeze the establishment of settlements. It asked for a freeze, although the former United States position, often stated by President Carter and Cyrus Vance, who was then Secretary of State, was that the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and elsewhere were illegal. There has been a change in the United States position for which many justifications have been invoked.

20. It has been said that the Israeli settlements are obstacles to peace. But is not every illegal action an obstacle to the peace process? And is not every obstacle to the peace process an illegal and illegitimate act?

21. Therefore, we acknowledge the goodwill of the United States and declare that there is no difference between President Carter's description of the settlements as illegal and President Reagan's comment that those settlements constitute obstacles to peace. In both cases we are mindful of our commitment to international legitimacy; we consider that any impediment to peace is illegal and that whatever is illegal and illegitimate obstructs the peace process.

22. What has happened? Instead of joining with the international community in condemning Israel for establishing these settlements, the United States refused to do so, declaring that a condemnation of Israel or the imposition of sanctions would lead to certain tendencies in Israel that would make it more intransigent and more inclined to defy the international will. The United States concluded by saying that Israel could be convinced to acquiesce in the international will by granting it concessions rather than by punishing it.

23. Thus the exercise of the right of veto by the United States and its threat of use of the veto has prevented condemnation of Israel and the imposition of any deterrent sanctions against it. What is more, because of this attitude, the resolutions of the Council continue to be scorned and its credibility weakened. When the United States differed with Israel on many occasions, especially after the invasion of Lebanon, we believed that those differences could lead to an objective approach in United States policy regarding the Middle East. We also believed that Israel's flagrant defiance of the declared policy of the United States—the full independence and sovereignty of Lebanon and the fact that settlements obstruct the peace process—we believed that these official differences would prompt the United States, in the interest of friendly relations with numerous Arab countries, to lessen its bias in favour of Israel and its at times flagrant bias in favour of Israel's goals in the region.

24. Paradoxically, that difference of opinion was known to Israel, which reacted to it in an exaggerated fashion, claiming that that difference constituted a threat to American-Israeli relations, that Israel was going through the most critical phase of its relations with the United States, and that there was a danger that the United States had started to weaken its traditional and special relations with Israel. Some believed those claims, and many of us wanted to believe that this prospect was true to some extent. Yet, what happened? The United States Congress approved more assistance for Israel, assistance that exceeded the request of the United States Administration itself. We said that the Congress was influenced by factors to which the United States Administration may not be subjected. We hoped that that difference of attitude between the legislative and the executive branches would lead the United States to take into account its relations with the Arab world and its interests in the region.

25. American public opinion started to realize the truth about Israel and its real intentions. We felt this development in numerous sectors of public opinion, to such an extent that one black leader said metaphorically, in describing the suffering of blacks, that sometimes they feel like the people in the West Bank. That may be an exaggeration, but the fact that that reference was made shows that large sectors of American public opinion have started to realize the truth about Israel.

26. We also said that, in its many endeavours in the context of the Middle East, the United States Government paid attention to its friends. But we found that the United States began to reconsider the difference of opinion out of its belief that its past differences with Israel would remain in our memory and that any return to special relations between the United States and Israel would be forgotten by us—that previous differences would be remembered, and the establishment of special relations in the past would be overlooked by the Arabs. How long shall we remain in this dilemma?

27. If we come to the United Nations and the Council, we are told: "You are devaluing the United Nations." When we repeatedly come to the United Nations, we are told such recourse diminishes the prestige of the Council. But if we do not resort to the Council, then to whom or to what shall we resort? Shall we resort to the United States initiative, which was stalled as soon as it was declared? We were told that President Reagan was personally involved and that the United States Government could not prevent the establishment of a single settlement. It did not even hint to Israel that if it continued to establish settlements, it might halt the flow of military assistance to it. If we do not resort to the Council, to international public opinion, if we can expect nothing from American initiatives, to whom or to what shall we resort?

28. We are told that the balance of military power still favours Israel. For how long? Do we want to be forced to resort to a military option while continuing to legitimize diplomatic and political options? The answer lies in the Council and in the collective will to deter Israel from persisting in violating the Council's resolutions and the principles of the Charter.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Kuwait. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

30. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the delegation of Kuwait, I have the pleasure of congratulating you, Sir, on assuming the presidency for this month. We look forward to your wise guidance of the affairs of the Council, for your wisdom and ability are well known. You also represent a friendly country with weight and influence in international politics in general and in the Middle East question in particular.

31. I also wish to express our gratitude for the skilful and just manner in which your predecessor, the repre-

sentative of the People's Republic of China, conducted the affairs of the Council last month.

32. Once again we meet here not to confront a new Israeli policy or a new Israeli position but to face another in the series of abominable crimes that now collectively constitute the backbone of the racist Zionist entity implanted in the Arab territory of Palestine. The crime to which we refer is the act of aggression committed by armed Israelis, in full view of the Israeli Government, against the Islamic University in the town of Al-Khalil on 19 July, which led to the death of 3 students and injury to over 40.

33. The policy of oppression and terror practised by Israel in all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories is, in our opinion, the immediate result of the continued occupation of those territories, as well as of Israel's challenge to international values, convenants and will. The ultimate goal of all those Israeli policies is the realization of so-called Greater Israel.

34. It is shameful to see Israel commit all its aggressive acts under the pretext of what it calls security. We wonder what security this is that knows no limits. What security is this that denies the peace and security of the legitimate owners of those territories and the peace and security of neighbouring countries?

35. Thanks especially to the Council, the whole world is convinced of the falseness of the claims of security which Israel invokes to protect itself and realizes that Israel's ultimate goal is the elimination of the Palestinian people through physical liquidation, the pursuit of that people wherever they may be, the despoiling of their lands and the establishment of Israeli settlements on their lands.

36. Kuwait believes that Israel's policy of establishing settlements represents the corner-stone of an ultimate goal that would make the annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip a *fait accompli.*

37. The Council has unequivocally expressed itself on the illegitimacy of Israel's settlements policy in resolutions 252 (1968) and 465 (1980). Those two resolutions confirm that all Israeli measures aimed at changing the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Al-Quds, have no legal validity and that Israel's settlements policy constitutes a blatant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[2] and a serious obstacle to the achievement of peace in the Middle East.

38. Israel was not merely content with the establishment of settlements and the importation of tens of thousands of the world's Jews to settle in them; it also implanted armed bands among the settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, and there is an understanding and co-ordination between those bands and the Israeli Government. All the Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza carry arms, with the authorization of the Government. If the purpose of carrying arms is self-defence, as claimed by the Israeli Chief of Staff, General Moshe Levi, who refused to disarm the settlers to put an end to the cycle of violence and counter-violence, then this matter raises real doubts about this country armed to the teeth, incapable of protecting its citizens and therefore forced to permit them to carry arms to defend themselves instead of assuming that responsibility itself.

39. The crimes committed by those settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been openly repeated, as evidenced by the criminal attacks on the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh. Anyone who believes that Israel will one day reveal the identity of the perpetrators of those crimes must be a simpleton who cannot conceptualize the true nature of the sick, conspiratorial Israeli mentality. The report by the Israeli Ministry of Justice, known as the report of the Karp Commission, confirmed that the efforts of the police investigating crimes committed by Jewish settlers in the occupied territories are always hampered by two main considerations: first, the ambiguity surrounding the authority of the police with regard to the Jewish settlers in the occupied territories and, secondly, political interference by the Israeli Government itself.

40. Kuwait calls upon the Council to reaffirm its previous resolutions with regard to the illegality of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and to exert new efforts to compel Israel to respect the Council's relevant resolutions.

41. The Palestinians have suffered tremendous horrors under the pressure of the tyrannical Israeli occupation, which history will record as one of their darkest periods. The Palestinian people have struggled and are still struggling to regain their usurped rights.

42. The Palestinian people, which placed their trust in this international Organization, call upon the Council to shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter of the United Nations and to save them from the barbaric practices to which they are subjected, whether those practices are in the form of attempts to obliterate the identity and character of the Palestinian people or attempts to usurp their land and property and to settle alien racist groups on their land.

43. The Council must compel Israel to respect the international covenants which oblige it to protect the lives of civilians in the occupied territories and not to make any changes in the demographic nature and legal status of the occupied territories.

44. Above all, the Council is required to put an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories and to give the oppressed Palestinian people the opportunity to exercise their legitimate and inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, the right to return to their homeland and the right to establish their own State on their own soil under the leadership of the

PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

45. Kuwait believes that the countries which provide Israel with economic and military assistance and moral support, in spite of its colonialist settler policies which have been unanimously and universally condemned, are in fact encouraging this country, an enemy of peace, to persist in its hostility towards peace and in its disdain for all international laws, values and covenants. My delegation calls upon those countries, foremost among them the United States, to cease supporting this country that tramples on human values and, more important, to stop putting obstacles in the Council's way, so that it may carry out its mandate by condemning this lawless country and imposing on it the appropriate sanctions.

46. In calling on the Council to look into the recent developments, the Arab countries have once again demonstrated their belief and trust in the United Nations, particularly in the Council, and their reliance on it to resolve the question of Palestine and to settle the conflict in the Middle East. Any failure by the United Nations to act will have serious effects on its credibility and on the trust of the world's people in it.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Mr. President, I should like to extend to you our hearty congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am certain that your wisdom and wide experience and the prominent place occupied by your country in the Arab homeland must help the Council to carry out its functions in a manner consistent with the real interests of the international community. Your presidency, Sir, has a special significance. You know our region quite well. It is going through an extremely difficult period in its history because of policies of aggression, hegemony and foreign occupation. The people of France resisted nazism, and we take this opportunity to congratulate them on their resistance when the Nazis occupied their country. The issue before the Council needs your wisdom, your sense of justice and your far-sightedness. You are eminently qualified for your function.

49. I should like, Sir, to express our highest esteem for your predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing, and for his great country and people, which have consistently contributed to world civilization and which take a firm stand of principle on the side of struggling peoples.

50. As others have said, the crimes recently committed against the population of Hebron are not isolated events, but are part and parcel of a deliberate Zionist scheme dating back to 1897. That scheme was protected by colonialism, which even consecrated it and included it in the Mandate over Palestine, thus violating the right to self-determination provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The criminals of today are the successors of those who violated Arab rights and shed Arab blood at the time. It is as though the elimination of the Arab national entity were a legitimate legal basis in the service of the interests of colonialism.

51. The organic relationship and alliance between zionism, on the one hand, and the colonialist States, on the other, before, during and after the First World War were but a means to control the destiny of the Arab nation, to dismember it and to abort its aspirations.

52. Let us speak facts: the Council committed a historic mistake when it rushed into recommending the admission of Israel to the United Nations. Today, we and the majority of the members of the Council are paying the price for that mistake, into which the Council was led by Western colonialism. Since 1948, the Middle East has been a hotbed of danger to international peace and security. There are attempts to destroy our countries, the cradle of world civilization, through the establishment of an expansionist racist entity that goes against the logic of history. We believe that the international régime which we established, and on whose Charter we agreed with good will in order to end war, aggression and colonialism and to enable peoples to exercise their right to self-determination, is threatened with collapse if the Council does not shoulder its responsibilities and carry out its duties. Here I am addressing the members of the Council. We have entrusted you with the sole responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, but time has proved that the Council often falls short of what is expected of it by the peoples, especially the Arab people.

53. The United States was the willing heir of colonialism and has sought to perpetuate, encourage and expand it, and we consider that that country bears primary responsibility for undermining the effectiveness of the Council and preventing it from carrying out its basic duty. By way of example, I would note that this major Power has declared once more, through its President, that the establishment of Israeli settlements on our occupied territories is not illegitimate. President Reagan answered a question posed by Al Bloom, correspondent for the *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, as to whether he thought that the settlements constitute an obstacle to peace by saying, as reported in *The Washington Post* on 20 June: "No, I don't. I really don't."*

54. Is not that United States position in flagrant violation of the commitments entered into by the United States Government under the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law, especially the commitments of the United States under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949?[2] The United States violated that convention in Viet Nam and is now violating it in several other places.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

55. What is the meaning of the establishment of settlements on Arab territory? The Council must understand the significance of the establishment of those settlements: it means seizing Arab lands and depriving their populations of their livelihood; it means depriving them of drinking water and water for irrigation; it means imposing a régime of poverty, squalour and slavery. All of that is intended to force them to abandon their lands and go into exile.

56. Early in this century, did not Herzl plan what is happening today when he wrote in his journal, in 1904, that the settlers must uproot the indigenous populations and cast them across the desert, except for a minority to be employed in killing poisonous snakes? Herzl's Zionist successors are implementing his colonialist scheme one phase after another. Nowadays we hear fevered Zionist voices, like that of the Minister of the Interior of the Zionist entity, who brazenly stated, as reported in *The New York Times* on 11 July: "We have to understand the right for Jews to live in Hebron for me as a person is above discussion. No Jew can be forbidden to settle in any place in Israel."*

57. *The New York Times*, which is described as "respectable", published an article by the terrorist rabbi, Meir Kahane, thus allowing him to poison the naïve minds of the American public with fascist opinions embodying an outrageous racist dogma and to instigate a continuous war against the Arabs. The last paragraph of that article reads as follows: "For the sake of survival, let us carry out the second stage: the removal of the Arabs from the Land of Israel to their own Arab land."*

58 That is no mere wishful thinking: the terrorist Kahane, who assumes the guise of a man of the cloth and who practices terrorism in Israel and in the United States itself, goes from one American university to another training American students in the use of arms and exhorting them to participate in the crime of settling in Palestine and in the Golan Heights. What Kahane, with his dual Israeli-American citizenship, represents is no isolated phenomenon. Those who murder the children of Al-Khalil and who usurp the land and desecrate the holy places there belong to the same school as Begin, Sharon, Shamir, Arens and Kahane. Those men have carried out brainwashing and have filled minds with hatred, spite and criminal ideas. Not even the minds of women—of mothers—have been saved from this epidemic of Arab-hatred propagated by zionism. *The New York Times*, that "respectable" paper, on 12 July quoted an American-born mother who was settled by force in Al-Khalil and who urged that the Arabs be kicked out of the holy city, saying: "To tell the truth, we want them to leave. And if they stay, they have to accept that this is a Jewish country, not an Arab one. They will have to accept being ruled by us."*

59. As has been stated by Mr. Clovis Maksoud, of the League of Arab States, and by a number of speakers in the Council, official Israeli circles and their mouthpieces in the United States are vigorously striving to absolve the ruling classes in Israel of responsibility for the crimes of the settlers in Jerusalem, Nablus, Al-Khalil, the Golan Heights and elsewhere. Those circles claim that a distinction must be drawn between the bloody settlers and the Israeli Government, headed by Begin, who is suffering from melancholia—or, to put it more simply, from a nervous breakdown.

60. Actually, each settler in Israel is keen on implementing the official settlements policy on which Israel has been based since its beginning as a racist, colonialist, expansionist entity. Each settler, male or female, considers guarding the usurped properties a bounden duty and views the uprooting or murder of an Arab as a constructive step on the road to so-called liberation. Should the representative of Israel so desire, he can speak here and respond, but not laugh. His American colleague once laughed in this chamber and we responded to him and we are ready to respond to him again, because for this to happen under your presidency, Sir, is an affront to all of us. That is what is happening today in the Arab city of Al-Khalil, but neither the Americans nor other eyewitnesses are deceived by this Zionist strategy. As Daniel Gavron wrote from Al-Khalil in *The Wall Street Journal* of 27 July: "And the settlers know they have the support of the Begin government, which is committed to rebuilding the ancient Jewish neighbourhood in the heart of Hebron."* Faced with all this evidence, Washington might perhaps issue the following judgement: "Israel is innocent by reason of insanity."*

61. Israel's designs extend from the Nile to the Euphrates. This is well known and declared; and Israel seeks achievement of its objective especially by fanning anti-Semitism in the United States in the hope of prompting Jews to emigrate to our region and to obtain through blackmail greater financial resources and political advantages so as to expand and support the Zionist settler movement. All of this is accompanied by a psychological campaign to silence any voice raised against the blackmail, be it moral or material. John Oakes, former editor of *The New York Times*, in a rebuke to the Zionist mayor of New York, Mr. Ed Koch, wrote in that newspaper on 21 June:

> "The Mayor, along with a good many other self-anointed spokesmen for the American Jewish community, is pursuing a dangerously divisive course—in effect differentiating the obligations of citizenship of American Jews from those of other Americans—by this kind of McCarthyesque rhetoric."*

62. Zionist settler colonialism in the Syrian Arab Golan Heights increases day by day, but in spite of Israeli oppression and terrorism the inhabitants of the Golan Heights reject Israeli identity and, as I have previously mentioned in the Council, are deprived of their civil rights if they do not acquiesce to Israeli demands. Reports from the region, where foreign journalists are restricted by that "island of democracy" in our midst—a restriction that extends to Israeli journalists—affirm that arrests and

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

police raids are continuing because of fierce resistance to settler schemes and the diversion of water resources through a network of dams to irrigate the Israeli settlements in the Golan Heights. Those settlements now number 35; the occupation authorities plan to settle 20,000 Israelis in the Golan Heights over a period of five years, most of whom may be Americans.

63. In spite of all the acts of oppression by the occupation authorities, including the curfew, which lasts for days on end, our citizens are committed to the national charter that was endorsed in Majdal Shams, in the Golan Heights, on 25 March 1981. The mayor of Majdal Shams stated on 6 January 1983 that: "We have been pressured by the occupation authorities to carry Israeli identity cards, but we carry only hatred for them in our hearts."

64. The Israeli authorities have foreclosed every working opportunity for all those who reject Israeli identity, but the people of the Golan Heights who were forcibly evacuated during the 1967 war are prohibited from returning to their homeland despite the Council's unanimously adopted resolution 237 (1967), which has year after year been reaffirmed in the General Assembly and other international bodies.

65. The Israeli authorities act in the Golan Heights in accordance with the concept of annexation, which the Council has declared null and void in resolution 497 (1981), a resolution which Israel rejected at the same meeting in which it was unanimously adopted. During past sessions of the General Assembly, resolutions were adopted calling upon Israel to revoke its annexation. But Israel, supported by its ally the United States, failed to implement any resolution and instead accelerated the establishment of settlements and intensified its terrorist practices to the point of preventing students from attending Syrian universities or enrolling in universities in the occupied Arab territories if they refused Israeli identity.

66. It is truly regrettable that the Council has failed to take the specific mandatory action provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to force Israel to revoke its annexation of the Golan Heights. This has served to encourage the terrorist leaders of Israel to continue Judaizing the Palestinian and Syrian occupied territories, including Jerusalem, the city of cities. Israel's defiance of the Arab people and the United Nations, especially the Security Council, was expressed by the terrorist Begin on 17 April, on the occasion of the celebration of so-called independence, when he said "our settlements are not an impediment to peace but, rather, as I said, they are a prerequisite for peace".

67. I leave it to the Council to draw its own conclusions concerning the significance of that policy and its aims; it will end by bringing the world to the brink of disaster.

68. Israel's arrogance in realizing its expansionist designs is linked to important factors which we have already mentioned in the Council and which we will repeat today. Foremost among them is Washington's unlimited support for Israel—financial, military and political. American financial support is not confined to the officially declared astounding sum of $2.5 billion per annum; it has exceeded $10 billion per annum, according to information published by the United States Government's General Accounting Office. In spite of the censorship practised in this super-democracy in which we live, in spite of the censorship to conceal the truth, the report from that office shows that there is no other foreign State that has been treated with the same generosity that 3 million Jews living on usurped lands in Palestine and in the Syrian Golan Heights have enjoyed. Israel's per capita share of official and unofficial assistance from the United States has reached $2,900 per annum. That is equivalent to the per capita income in some relatively developed States, or to 12 times the wages of workers in the third world, especially those in underdeveloped countries. According to published information, the United States has undertaken recently to meet in full the expenses of the war waged by Israel against Lebanon, a war which was designed to destroy Lebanon, its people and its infrastructure. An article by Joseph Harsch in *The Christian Science Monitor* of 14 July expresses the bitterness the American taxpayer has come to feel—and I hope there are American taxpayers in our midst—at a time when his rich country is suffering an acute economic crisis accompanied by unprecedented levels of unemployment.

69. Another reason behind Israel's growing arrogance is the sophisticated weapons granted by Washington to its base, Israel. The United States Secretary of Defence, Mr. Weinberger, has described Israel as a land-based carrier that cannot be sunk. He went even further when he explained Israel's role in the service of United States interests in the following words:

> "The United States is bound to Israel by strategic interests. The United States is bound to Israel by a common heritage of freedom and a pioneering spirit."*

70. Yes, it is called "a pioneering spirit". Where is the indigenous population of the United States? What has become of it? It has been slaughtered, murdered and displaced; it is now imprisoned on so-called reservations. Those are the values of "freedom and a pioneering spirit"; and that is what is also happening in Israel, where the Palestinian race is being annihilated by this heritage of "freedom" and this "pioneering spirit".

71. The Secretary of Defence of this super-Power, not confining himself to praising Israel and reassuring American zionism, went so far as to acquiesce to that minority which controls the future and destiny of the American people, when on 13 May he said before the American Jewish Committee:

> "No one should question anyone's strong support of Israel as being 'dual loyalty'. Freedom is not easily divisible, and support for Israel's security is support for our own security."*

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

The United States considers that the road to world security and to its own security is through the security of Israel.

72. Cannot a direct relationship be found between this official United States position and Begin's statement of 3 May? Begin said—and the Council will notice the closeness of the dates on which these two statements were made:

> "The Jewish government will act to strengthen settlements, to expand and consolidate them. . .
>
> "In future negotiations for the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and its neighbours, any proposal for the removal or evacuation of Jewish settlements will be rejected."*

73. And yet, in spite of all that, Begin is suffering from melancholy and nervous depression. Melancholy has become the illness which has afflicted that Israeli official because he does not want to return the occupied Arab territories. The failure to return those territories should lead to melancholy, not vice versa.

74. Do we still wonder about the source of this arrogance by Israel? The rewarding of the aggressor with tools of death and destruction such as F-16 aircraft that are once again pouring into Israel, enabling it through the revived strategic alliance to control the fate of our nation, our wealth and our strategic location: that is the source of its arrogance. As for United States political support of Israel, suffice it to recall that you have seen in the Council how the United States prevented the implementation of unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the establishment of settlements the annexation of Jerusalem and its proclamation as Israel's capital. The Council, also unanimously, in resolution 497 (1981), called on Israel to rescind its annexation of the Golan Heights. The United States has also prevented the implementation of resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanese territory to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

75. The Syrian Arab Republic would like once again to urge the Council to shoulder its responsibility for implementing its resolutions. International peace and security are truly jeopardized. Owing to United States policy, the Council has become a rostrum for rhetoric. My colleague from Jordan shares that view. The Council has become a rostrum for rhetoric and not a place for effective international action; however, at one time peoples and States placed full confidence in the Council's ability to prevent wars and eliminate aggression.

76. We call upon the United States to enable the Council to take effective steps, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressors from all of the occupied Arab territories and to enable the people of Palestine to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its national soil, under the leadership of the PLO. Our people, like all the peoples represented in the Council, is struggling to put an end to occupation and aggression by virtue of our natural right to self-defence. Our Arab nation will never relinquish this right, regardless of the passage of time and the sacrifices involved.

77. We hope that the United States will finally understand that the rights of our people cannot be bartered away, that we will never be protectors of United States interests and that attempts at hegemony and domination in certain regions will fail because of the consciousness of our nation and its commitment to its history, heritage, land and values. The manoeuvres of the rapid deployment forces to be conducted soon in our Arab region—manoeuvres in which Israel will, of course, be participating—will not weaken the will of our people. We consider such a flexing of muscles an actual threat directed against us; but it will not intimidate us or discourage us from striving to achieve our national goals, foremost among which is the regaining of our usurped rights. We are confident that the Arab masses and the masses of liberated peoples all over the world stand in one trench against the threat of aggression.

78. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At the outset, please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are convinced that your wisdom and diplomatic skill are a strong assurance that the Council will successfully discharge its duties this month.

79. The fact that the Council has held numerous meetings to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories amply demonstrates the concern of the international community over the situation in that region. However, in spite of this fact, there have been recurrent incidents of Israeli violation of the inalienable rights of the Arab and Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories.

80. Recently, the Israeli authorities decided, in spite of the strong opposition of the Arab people, to establish a settlement in downtown Al-Khalil. This illegal decision has further aggravated the tension in that region.

81. On 7 July, a large-scale attack on Arab civilians occurred in Al-Khalil. Roughly 90 per cent of the stalls operated by Arabs in that city's market were burnt down by arsonists, and acting Mayor Mustapha Al-Natshe was dismissed by the Israeli authorities without cause.

82. On 26 July, a band of armed Israeli settlers organized a raid on the Islamic University in Al-Khalil and indiscriminately machine-gunned students, faculty and staff members, inflicting heavy casualties. To this day, the Israeli authorities are still sending military and police reinforcements to step up their suppression of the unarmed

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

and defenceless Palestinian and Arab inhabitants. This grave situation is still in the process of unfolding.

83. The representatives of Arab countries and the representative of the PLO have revealed numerous facts which eloquently show that the terrorist tactics used by the Israeli authorities in this instance to persecute the indigenous inhabitants are entirely premeditated with the express aim of changing the demographic composition so as to legitimize the Israeli settlement scheme.

84. One recalls that the Israeli authorities have unapologetically and openly declared their intention to settle 400,000 Israelis in the West Bank in the next five years and 1.4 million in the next 30 years. The Israeli intention to annex the occupied Arab territories in the West Bank is clear as day, and Israel cannot shirk responsibility for this latest tragedy.

85. Israel's wanton crimes of oppression and persecution against the Palestinian Arab people are not only in flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[2] but are also an open defiance of resolutions of the Council.

86. The Council has on numerous occasions adopted resolutions explicitly calling on Israel immediately to cease any action that may change the legal status, physical character and demographic composition of the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to guarantee the welfare and human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories. However, in disregard of those resolutions, the Israeli authorities have created more incidents in annexing occupied Arab territories.

87. Israel's policy of aggression and expansion has further jeopardized peace and security in the region and in the world at large. In the past 30 years, the Palestinian people have endured untold sufferings. Millions of Palestinians have been forced from their homeland and thousands have lost their lives. However, the heroic Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, have carried out an unremitting struggle to realize their sacred aspirations to recover their homeland and establish their own independent State. They have won the sympathy and support of the international community.

88. The Chinese Government has always opposed the crimes and illegal activities carried out by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, has strongly condemned the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Israeli authorities in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights and has resolutely supported the just struggle of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people to recover lost territories and to regain national rights.

89. The Chinese delegation is of the view that the grave and worsening situation in the occupied Arab territories demands a clear and unequivocal response from the Council. The Council should strongly condemn the Israeli authorities for engineering the incidents in Al-Khalil, stop all expansionist activities in the occupied territories and compel Israel to withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 in order to promote a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, I take refuge in God from Satan the Accursed.

> "Whom God doth guide,—he is on the right path: whom He rejects from His guidance,—such are the persons who perish.
>
> "Many are the Jinns and men We have made for Hell: they have hearts wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not, and ears wherewith they hear not. They are like cattle,—nay more misguided: for they are heedless (of warning).
>
> "The most beautiful names belong to God: so call on him by them; but shun such men as use profanity in His names: for what they do, they will soon be requited.
>
> "Of those We have created are people who direct (others) with truth. And dispense justice therewith.
>
> "Those who reject Our Signs, We shall gradually visit with punishment, in ways they perceive not."[3]*

92. As my entire message is based on and developed according to the Holy Koran, it is most appropriate if I address myself from this platform primarily to all Muslims of the world who are represented, or probably misrepresented, in this international body and then to the Security Council, not with respect to what it is but in honour of what it should be.

93. I shall proceed in the light of Koranic wisdom in order to expose the roots of today's problem, the problem of Palestine, a problem that, thanks to zionism and imperialism, is the greatest tragedy of our time. I pray to Allah that these Koranic verses may revive the divine light in the hearts of my once-committed Muslim brothers who have regrettably degraded themselves to pasture in the poisonous green land of secularism. As for the non-Muslim audience, I hope the verses can be taken as a passage through some of the moral and spiritual codes of Islam and their implications in terms of international issues. Let us hope that the passage may also ignite in their hearts a healthy interest in divine faiths in general and in Islam in particular.

* Quoted in Arabic by the speaker.

94. I shall therefore elaborate upon the verses I just cited, and begin with: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, I take refuge in God from Satan the Accursed.

> "Whom God doth guide,—he is on the right path: whom He rejects from His guidance,—such are the persons who perish."

95. Ever since the Muslim people emptied their hearts of the divine light and departed from divine guidance, they have been losing substantially. They forgot their Islamic identity and thus they became tolerant of colonialism and imperialism. They forgot the Koranic guidance that reads, in sura III, verse 103:

> "And hold fast, all together, by the Rope which God (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves; and remember with gratitude God's favour on you; for ye were enemies and He joined your hearts in love, so that by His Grace, ye became brethren; and ye were on the brink of the Pit of Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus doth God make His Signs clear to you: that ye may be guided."

They forgot this guidance and ignorantly accepted the satanic Zionist principle of nationalism all over the Muslim world. They were split up and dispersed into many small units—kingdoms, sheikhdoms and figure-headdoms, each fighting the other over where to draw the line that the mandatory Powers, the satanic Powers, had given them as national boundaries.

96. Some went so far in their secular and nationalistic perversion as blatantly to fight to eradicate all elements of faith in God in favour of proud servility to some grand or petty satanic Powers. They lost Palestine because they neglected their duties that stem from sura II, verse 114:

> "And who is more unjust than he who forbids that in places for the worship of God, God's name should be celebrated?—whose zeal is (in fact) to ruin them? It was not fitting that such should themselves enter them except in fear. For them there is nothing but disgrace in this world, and in the world to come, an exceeding torment."

And the ignominy and the awful doom are that, having forgotten our duties stemming from that verse, the more playfully and irresponsibly we Muslims reacted to the occupation, the more we lost. The Muslim world has been so impregnated by the filth of blasphemy and secularism that we not only lost Palestine and all our natural, economic, human and cultural resources, but even the very sense of feeling the pain of all that great loss. It is in this context that the following verse becomes very relevant and revealing:

> "Many are the Jinns and men We have made for Hell: they have hearts wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not, and ears wherewith they hear not. They are like cattle,—nay more misguided: for they are heedless (of warning)."

Some remain so blind, deaf and dumb that they are sinking into an ocean of garbage; yet they gluttonously swallow more of it.

97. There was a time when those who have signed a peace treaty with the Zionist enemy prayed only to God, feared no one but God and sought help only from God, as they repeated every day in their prayers: "It is You we worship and it is You we ask for help." In those days, they were supreme. As the blessings of those prayers were forgotten, they began to obey anyone but God, particularly the Great Satan. They surrendered either to American or to Russian materialism. Consequently, they proudly enjoyed the humiliation of the Camp David accords. They lost sensitivity to the painful and expanding dirty boil of zionism that has been implanted in the bottom of their beloved Palestine by the imperialist Powers.

98. King Hussein of Jordan, who is now longing for a peace treaty with the Zionist entity, was once proud of his Hashemite ancestry. The Saudi monarchy, which is now proud of mimicking the criminal Shah of Iran, humbly obedient to the United States and Zionist agents and heretically preventing Muslims from making their pilgrimage, was once proud of pretending to be the gateman of the House of God and serving the pilgrims. And those who are zealously awaiting a tamed, defenceless Palestinian quarter in the West Bank, to be called President Reagan's Palestinian State, were once the noble citizens of the blessed land Barak na Houlahu. They, as well as many Muslim rulers all over the world, have totally forgotten sura XVII, verse 1:

> "Glory to (God) who did take His Servant for a Journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose precincts We did bless,—in order that We might show him some of Our Signs: for He is the One Who heareth and seeth (all things)."

They all have become so alienated—as a matter of fact, we all have become so alienated—and metamorphosed that when a group tired of communism, capitalism and the dirty Shah of westernism intends to retire back to its homeland of Islam, they all attack like cannibal wolves to smother anyone who raises the cry of "Allah-o-Akbar." Why? It is simply because, as sura III, verse 14, says:

> "Fair in the eyes of men is the love of things they covet: women and sons; heaped-up hoards of gold and silver; horses branded (for blood and excellence); and (wealth of) cattle and well-tilled land. Such are the possessions of this world's life; but in nearness to God is the best of the goals (to return to)."

99. Some gunmen at the University in Hebron killed 3 people and injured 33 others. Zionist soldiers opened fire on the demonstrators and killed a woman. The Zionist usurpers are still building more settlements in the West

Bank. The United States, without whose support the Zionist base in the Middle East cannot survive for a moment, is also the close friend of some Arab rulers, who are longing for a peace treaty with the Zionist enemy, but who are fortunately still afraid of their own unarmed people. Of course, the Zionists kill and destroy. They never claim to be guests who are kind to the host. They have always been intruders, aggressors and usurpers who have been killing and destroying from the very beginning.

100. It is under such circumstances that the Council is meeting today. Please tell us: we meet to do what? Who are some of the members of the Council? The meeting of the Council after the massacres of Sabra and Shatila [*2396th meeting*] was very crowded. There was even an emergency special session of the General Assembly. What happened then? Of course, there are others besides my delegation who have the guts to tell the truth, and I am so pleased to see that others are criticizing the Council or looking at it more realistically. It is nice to hear many more voices expressing the impotence of the Council in the implementation of the Charter of the United Nations. But, since its inception, the Council has never promised to be any different or better than it is now. Sad is the fact that a pacifying resolution by the same Council might be taken so seriously by the clients, as we are, as if it were the liberation of the occupied land.

101. It is interesting that sometimes we present detailed accounts of the Zionist crimes emotionally and accurately to the Council, as if permanent members of the Council cannot read the newspapers, or none of them have an embassy in the Zionist base to inform their foreign offices of the crimes perpetrated in Hebron or in Lebanon.

102. I should like again to address myself to my Muslim brothers and to remind them that adversity is not that gunmen in Hebron killed 3 people and injured 33. More painful is the fact that, like polite plaintiffs, we present our humble complaints to the same gunmen, who have formed this international body for their own purposes and who have subsequently maintained their full control over it. Indeed, we who have more faith in the temple of the United Nations than in almighty God deserve this humiliation and much more. Brothers! Is it not that we have totally forgotten sura III, verse 139:

> "So lose not heart, nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in Faith."

You have forgotten sura V, verse 57:

> "O ye who believe! Take not for friends and protectors those who take your religion for a mockery or sport—whether among those who received the Scripture before you, or among those who reject Faith; But fear ye God, if ye have Faith (indeed)."

103. It is too sad that Muslim rulers have forgotten the endless power of their own people and the resources that almighty God has given them and have consequently become so humble and low in front of the super-Powers and their international club. Please do not bank on this club too much. It is nothing and nothing comes of nothing.

104. Palestine can be liberated only if the problem of Palestine is understood and tackled in the light of, and on the basis of, divine, just principles. The occupation of Palestine is not the cause of the tragedy; it is the effect of a more fundamental occupation, the occupation of the entire hearts and minds of the Muslims by secular, materialist and mundane values. Unless we purify ourselves of this mundane, modern jahiliya, we are not liberated, and hence we cannot liberate anything. Those who want to help the people of Hebron or who wish to liberate Palestine should well remember the solution.

That solution is as follows, in sura IV, verse 75:

> "And why should ye not fight in the cause of God and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?—men, women, and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord! Rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from Thee one who will protect; and raise for us from Thee one who will help.'"

105. *Fi sabi Illah*: that means "for the sake of God": in the way of God, and not for nationalism or any other "ism".

106. Those who play at diplomacy to help the people of Al-Khalil, those who show concern for the cause of Palestine and those who pretend to feel the pain of domination in the claws of zionism and imperialism must remember this, from sura II, verse 194:

> "If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. But fear God, and know that God is with those who restrain themselves."

107. To prepare for the Zionist aggressor, we cannot play at diplomacy, brothers, or negotiate for a word or a phrase. We have to mobilize all our resources. The Koranic dictum is this, in sura VIII, verse 60:

> "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of God and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom God doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the Cause of God, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly."

108. Full mobilization means all the assets that are deposited in the Zionist banks; this, of course, includes the large sums the Saudi Arabians, upon the command of the Americans, pay in desperation to your Government, Mr. President, for the deadly weapons that your Government so generously makes available to the Zionist Saddam in order to kill us. However, France is not the only permanent member of the Council that is involved in this practice. As a matter of fact, all of the old guardians of

international peace and security are equally committed to the Charter. But I assure the Council that Saddam and his supporters—and, indeed, the Zionists—are the losers, as the Council shall soon witness.

109. Full mobilization means the entire market of the Muslim world, the entire economy of the Muslim world. It means all the raw materials—so many good things: it means all the oil and its power, and, above all, it means the endless ocean of the Muslim population, plus the oppressed people all over the world—in Africa and in Latin America—who are longing for emancipation.

110. But this full mobilization becomes possible if, and only if, our good Muslim brothers resort to Islam and if they remember that:

> "The most beautiful names belong to God: so call on him by them; but shun such men as use profanity in His Names: for what they do, they will soon be requited."

And if they neglect the remembrance of divine names, then the following will be the consequence for them:

> "Of those We have created are people who direct (others) with truth. And dispense justice therewith.
>
> "Those who reject Our Signs, We shall gradually visit with punishment, in ways they perceive not."

That is exactly where some Muslims are going now: "in ways they perceive not".

111. Instead of preparing for Muslims actually to move to Palestine, rulers of the Islamic countries come to the President of the Council and to the Council itself: to that agent which actually forged a birth certificate for the illegitimate child left behind by the international conspiratorial engagement of global zionism and imperialism 35 years ago. It is too sad that our Muslim brothers are deliberately confusing a part of the problem for a part of the solution.

112. Shortcomings and malfunctionings of the Council in this context are irrelevant. I mean that even if the Council were functioning efficiently, it would still not be even the least appropriate clinic for treating the malady of Palestine.

113. The Muslim people of Iran shall not spare any effort or sacrifice to liberate the holy land of Palestine. The herds of criminal Zionists who have gathered together around some conscientious members of the Council shall be respectfully escorted back to their stables in the United States and Europe where they came from.

114. Palestine shall be completely cleansed of the Zionists and their American and Western supporters, who have wishfully but wrongly speculated on them, hoping to plunder the rest of the Muslim world. That is impossible.

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

116. Mr. CABALLERO RODRIGUEZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We wish you success in carrying out this important responsibility.

117. We wish also to convey our congratulations to the representative of the People's Republic of China on the manner in which he guided the Council during the month of July.

118. When reviewing the records of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other bodies of the United Nations system, one frequently encounters the complaints and criticisms by the representatives of Israel and its United States ally regarding what they consider a useless exercise and a waste of resources owing to the excessive attention given by this forum to the problems of the Middle East and, in particular, to the question of Palestine. It is only logical that both countries should be concerned over the fact that the international community is considering this question. It is only logical that they are bothered by the fact that international public opinion should hear the crimes being committed by the Israeli governing clique against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. It is logical also that Tel Aviv and Washington should become angry over the fact that their complicity and joint responsibility for the deteriorating situation in the Middle East have been exposed in this forum. Both the Israeli leaders and their strategic allies would very much prefer that the international community played along with their sophisticated campaign of disinformation aimed at presenting the victims as the victimizers and vice versa, thereby facilitating the implementation of their expansionist and neo-colonialist plans against the Palestinian people and, in general, against all Arab peoples.

119. But times have changed. Each day it becomes increasingly difficult to hide the truth from world public opinion, and, gradually, the cause of the Palestinian people, the cause of the Arab peoples, has become the cause of mankind.

120. With every passing day there is increasing worldwide condemnation of the insane policy of the nazi-fascist clique in Tel Aviv and increasing demand for a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

121. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which now encompasses 101 countries, has played an important role in this. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, the Heads of State or Government reiterated their conviction that there could not be any just and lasting peace in the Middle East without Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including

Jerusalem, and without a just solution to the question of Palestine on the basis of the recovery and exercise in Palestine of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular the right to return, the right to self-determination without external interference and the right to independence and national sovereignty, including the right to establish an independent Palestinian State in their homeland, Palestine. The heads of State also reaffirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that it alone has the full right to participate independently and on an equal footing in all international conferences, activities and events and they rejected all plans, arrangements and agreements that were not in keeping with these principles [*see S/15675 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, Political Declaration*].

122. These principles, as well as innumerable resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, have daily been violated by the Israeli leaders in their efforts to obstruct any peace initiative not in keeping with their expansionist and aggressive policies and their plans aimed at destroying the resistance of the Palestinian people, and the people themselves, and at subjecting the other Arab peoples.

123. This explains the well-known policy of *faits accomplis* that has been pursued by the Zionists since well before the creation of the State of Israel and all its criminal actions over the past few years, such as the intensification of the settlements policy in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, the annexation of the city of Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, the genocidal acts against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the constant threats against Syria and other Arab countries and the resurgence of repression of all kinds against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, such as the terrorist actions which only recently have added to the long list of innocent Palestinian victims of the Israeli forces, which have tried in vain to drown in blood the Palestinian people's legitimate struggle against their oppressor. On this policy of the Israeli Government, the President of Cuba, Fidel Castro, in his statement on the occasion of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, stated:

> "We were all shocked and horrified by the satanic spectacle of the guerrilla invasion of southern Lebanon and the treacherous aggression against Syria, the genocidal attack on Beirut and the cruel killings in Sabra and Shatila. The heroic conduct and indomitable courage of the Palestinian combatants and the Lebanese patriots won the admiration of the entire world. Never has the Palestinian cause seemed more just than now, when it stands in stark contrast to the wanton brutality of its adversaries. The world will not forget the heroism of those against whom aggression is committed or the barbarity of the aggressors.
>
> "It is tragic that the Jewish people, who aroused compassion and universal sympathy when Hitler threatened their extermination, have been induced by zionism to take part in this insane genocide. Yet even in Israel there has arisen a clamour for peace and a demand for the punishment of those responsible for these killings.
>
> "But these crimes would not have been possible if the notorious centre of world imperialism had not provided the Israeli aggressors with the weapons. The despicable adventurism of Begin and Sharon exists only because of an unconscionable and openly confessed strategic alliance between Israel and the United States."

124. Those words, uttered by President Fidel Castro last March, are particularly relevant today. After the aggression and the genocidal action in Lebanon, Israel has intensified its repressive policies in the occupied territories and openly declares that it will increase the number of Israeli settlements, a policy that has recently gained even greater dimension, since Israel plans to create Jewish settlements in densely populated Palestinian centres, which will mean the further destruction of Palestinian homes and neighbourhoods, more expulsions, more bloodshed, more *faits accomplis*.

125. How can one explain that Israel is able with impunity to continue this policy of disregard for the various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, in open defiance of the will of the entire international community? All this can be explained, as has already been stated by so many previous speakers in the debate, by what we daily read in the press and by the declarations of the spokesmen for the Tel Aviv régime and for the United States Administration regarding the growing political, diplomatic, economic and military support that Israel has been receiving from its strategic ally, the United States. This strategic alliance also explains the arrogance of the Israeli imperialists in other parts of the world, such as Central America, where we find the long Zionist tentacles supplying military assistance to the former guards of Somoza, who, with the open support of the Reagan Administration, are vainly trying to stem the course of history and drown in blood the victorious revolution of the heroic sons of Sandino.

126. Today the Council is meeting to consider the latest criminal actions of the Israeli occupying forces, particularly in the city of Hebron. If the insane policies of the Tel Aviv régime are not stopped, how many more crimes will we have to consider in the Security Council and the General Assembly? That is why the time has come for the Council fully to exercise the responsibilities conferred on it by the Charter of the United Nations and take appropriate action to put a timely end to the misdeeds of the Israeli occupying forces and promote a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict, especially its root cause, the problem of Palestine.

127. Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to take this opportunity to express to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation and my Government and on my own behalf, sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. I became personally acquainted with you during my stay in your great country, France, and I am aware of your outstanding ability. That ability, together with your skill and wisdom, as well as your country's policies of principle in

upholding right and justice, makes us happy to see you presiding over the Council and discharging this lofty responsibility.

128. I wish also to express my thanks and that of my Government to Mr Ling Qing, the representative of China—and to his country—for the tact, flexibility and competence with which he guided the Council's proceedings last month. We were able to appreciate his well-known skills and diplomacy when the Council was seized of the situation in the occupied Arab territories in informal consultations and formal meetings.

129. Most unfortunately, I must point out the fact that the representative of Iran used this forum in a way that was contrary to its purposes. I do not object to the religious lesson he presented to the Council—although I am not convinced that this is the right place for it—nor do I wish to discuss his attacks on Arab nationalism, but I believe that this is also not the place to give vent to any misgivings about that.

130. Similarly, I do not object to what he said about Jordan and its foreign policy, although I consider that to be fishing in troubled waters and some sort of opportunism.

131. However, I vehemently reject what he said about the Hashemite family, for which all Muslims and Arabs have the greatest respect and love because of its religious position in our region and the services that it continues to render, with prudence and wisdom, to the Arab cause.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

133. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Sir, the Bangladesh delegation is pleased to see France presiding over the Council. The very friendly and cordial relations existing between our two countries are a source of great satisfaction to us. The deep and sincere feelings with which France advocates the cause of international peace and the just struggles of oppressed peoples is well known. We have no doubt that, with your outstanding diplomatic skill, the deliberations of the Council will lead to positive results.

134. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey our deep appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for his outstanding leadership in guiding the work of the Council during the month of July. We have all noted the skill, ability and energy with which he conducted the Council's work.

135. The Council is again seized of a crisis arising out of Israeli aggression and barbarity in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. The recent criminal and shameful attacks carried out by a band of armed Israeli settlers, under the guidance of Israeli occupation authorities, against Arab civilians in the Israeli-occupied Arab city of Al-Khalil are not isolated incidents of repression but constitute yet another link in the long chain of Israel's policy of relentless expansion, its unabated aggression against its Arab neighbours and its ruthless design to liquidate the Palestinian nation. The speakers who preceded me, particularly the representatives of Jordan and the PLO, have already given a detailed account of the treacherous and disgraceful attacks which took place in the Israeli-occupied Arab city of Al-Khalil on 7 and 26 July.

136. The international press and news media coverage, particularly the reports published recently in *The New York Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor*, have also given a graphic description of the shootings and killings which took place in Al-Khalil. It is also evident from that press coverage that the Israeli policy of annexation has been challenged by the determined opposition of the Palestinian people and that the continuing brutal oppression and indiscriminate killing in the occupied territories have only intensified their determination to resist such acts of oppression and State terrorism.

137. The United Nations, through the Security Council and the General Assembly, has tried repeatedly to bring justice to the suffering Palestinian people. But one of its Members, Israel, has deliberately and arrogantly rejected one United Nations resolution after another and openly flouted the voice of this world body. After making its moves to change the status of Holy Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, which were condemned unequivocally by the international community, Israel, in pursuit of its drive to liquidate the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, invaded Lebanon last summer. In open violation of all international law and the decision of the United Nations, Israel has continued to occupy a major part of that country. In the face of determined opposition by the heroic Palestinian people, Israel has once again unleashed a reign of terror in the occupied territories.

138. Despite the brutal repression, the heroic Palestinian youth have demonstrated that they cannot and will not be subjugated by violence. It is also evident that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people cannot be denied them and that their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, cannot be silenced.

139. Bangladesh's stand on the question of Palestine and the Middle East is firm and unequivocal; it is not based on political expedience. Our consistent position stems from our firm belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is founded on our enduring commitment to the cause of oppressed peoples all over the world struggling to free themselves from the bondage of colonialism, aggression and exploitation—peoples engaged in establishing their inalienable right to self-determination, national freedom and political independence. It is rooted in the ideals of tolerance and the conviction that men and women of all religions and all races can live together in an environment of peace, justice and equality. It is geared to uphold the right of every

people freely to determine and to build its own social, economic and political system by ways and means of its own free choice.

140. To this end, Bangladesh has consistently maintained that the situation in the Middle East, particularly the question of Palestine, can be solved only by the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestine territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and by restoring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to an independent State of its own in Palestine. Further, it is also essential that the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, participate in any peace process on an equal footing. Any plan or solution that ignores these basic requirements cannot attain a just and durable peace.

141. The very recent barbarous attack on Palestinians is not just another instance of such outrageous actions for which Israel is notorious; it further confirms the real intention of the Israeli authorities of which the Council has been warned time and again. There can be no shadow of doubt that the primary intention is to terrorize the people of Palestine so that they vacate their homeland, which Israel appears determined to annex.

142. This is indeed a matter of the utmost gravity and concern which, if permitted to go unchallenged, will have serious international repercussions and set a most dangerous precedent for other expansionist Powers to follow. As such, it is imperative for the Council to proceed urgently, with all the authority and resources at its disposal, to implement its own resolutions and decisions. Israel must be made to realize that it cannot get away anymore with violations of the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the Council.

143. Recent developments in the occupied territories have demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that the lack of firm and expeditious action on the part of the Council only contributes to an aggravation of the situation. A particularly heavy responsibility therefore falls on the permanent members of the Council to enable it to carry out its primary responsibility to bring peace to the afflicted region.

144. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate my delegation's readiness fully to uphold the adoption of any concrete and effective measures by the Council, in accordance with the Charter, for bringing an end to Israeli aggression and occupation and for the promotion of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

[2] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

[3] *The Holy Koran*, VII:178-182

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SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2460th MEETING: 2 AUGUST 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2460th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 2 August 1983, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2460)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
   Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a. i. of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599);
   Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15764);
   Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890).

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
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Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken at earlier meetings on this question [*2401st, 2412th to 2414th, 2438th, 2457th and 2459th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Cuba, Djibouti, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, India, Iraq, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Al-Sabbagh (Bahrain), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Caballero Rodríguez (Cuba), Mr. Houfane (Djibouti), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Mohammad (Iraq), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Ould Hamody (Mauritania), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Ali (Oman), Mr. Al-Boainin (Qatar), Mr. Zowawi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. Madar (Somalia), Mr. Elfaki (Sudan), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Lessir (Tunisia), Mr. Gökçe (Turkey), Mr. Al-Qasimi (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have

received a letter from the representative of Israel in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Blum (Israel) took a place at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. ZOWAWI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the members of the Council for having afforded me the opportunity to participate in the debate on the item now under discussion. I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and express our full confidence that you will guide the Council's proceedings on this subject in which we are keenly interested with your well-known competence and integrity.

5. At a time when we are looking forward to the just and effective fulfilment of the Council's tasks under your presidency, we want to express our appreciation for the competence with which the work of the Council was accomplished under your predecessor during the month of July.

6. One may well wonder what inspires the policies of the Israeli entity—this entity that was created by Zionist organizations on the territory of Arab Palestine. Indeed, in all the annals of history there is nothing to compare with what is taking place in the occupied Arab territories, even during the worst of the defunct repugnant colonial era. At a time when the colonialist countries had already embarked on the liquidation of their colonies in occupied countries following the Second World War and the United Nations was established, the racist Zionist movement managed to usurp the homeland of another people, displacing it and setting up a foreign State on its ruins. Not content with its pre-1967 achievements, the Israeli entity has since pursued a process of planned expansion and the oppression of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories for one single undisputed purpose: to obliterate what remains of the Palestinian people, expropriate their homeland, displace the inhabitants and Judaize the Arab territories and resources in such a way that these innocent people have had no option but to abandon hearth and home and join the 2 million refugees who have been living for scores of years in a state of displacement and misery outside their homeland, in camps and neighbourhoods that, even in the Diaspora, have not been spared the ravages of Israeli campaigns of destruction and extermination.

7. As for the occupied Arab territories, the Israeli régime is carrying out a devilish design to usurp them from their Arab owners and build settlements for the Jews with a view to the *de facto* annexation of those territories to Israel, in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant resolutions of the Organization, especially Council resolution 242 (1967), and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949,[1] and all other relevant international laws and norms. It has resorted to lying, cheating and the falsification of facts. That has been the hallmark of the Zionist movement since its inception. Israel resorts to lame excuses and flimsy pretexts for all its measures, but has yet to convince the international community.

8. The international community is shaken daily by fresh criminal acts of aggression against the Arab population of the occupied territories and the neighbouring Arab countries. The latest incidents took place in the Arab city of Al-Khalil where the Jews opened fire and hurled grenades at the Islamic University of Al-Khalil during classes, killing 3 students and injuring more than 36. During that attack, the Jewish aggressors wore masks, not for fear of punishment by the Israeli authorities, but to enable the Israeli authorities, who did not want to reveal who were the perpetrators of those terrorist acts of aggression, to cast doubt on the identity of the perpetrators and raise the possibility that the aggression was carried out by the Arabs themselves. The Israeli authorities are oblivious to the fact that the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories are totally defenceless. There is not a single incident in which the Arab population has used weapons against the occupation authorities. The only weapons available in Al-Khalil and the entire West Bank are those provided by the Israeli authorities to the Jewish settlers in order to terrorize the Arab population, whose land and natural resources have been usurped in broad daylight and in full view of everyone. The Israeli authorities do not want to admit that the only Arab weapons are the stones that have sometimes been used by students as a result of the campaign of oppression and terrorism and the arbitrary measures imposed by the occupation authorities and the Jewish settlers. The Israeli authorities also forget that Al-Khalil and most of the towns of Gaza and the West Bank are under constant curfew. This curfew is imposed only on defenceless Arab towns and villages and never on the armed Jewish settlements. Thus the Jewish settlers can rampage through Arab areas, setting fires, engaging in acts of sabotage and committing murder, as had happened earlier in the vegetable market and the central station in Al-Khalil.

9. It is abundantly clear that the murderers who took part in the incidents at the Al-Khalil University are fanatic Jews who were armed and encouraged by the Israeli authorities. Did we not see the settlers occupy part of Al-Haram Al-Ibrahami Al-Sharif in 1968, with the support of those authorities? And did not the Jews establish certain settlements and Jewish neighbourhoods inside and outside Al-Khalil and confiscate Arab lands? Israel claims that the arms it supplies to the Jews in the occupied Arab territories are for self-defence and not aggression—oblivious to the fact that the presence of those settlers in the occupied territories *per se* constitutes an act of aggres-

sion the victims of which are the Arabs. Self-defence is a right of the victim, not of the aggressor. The Israeli logic is curious. It shows a split personality in Israel and in zionism. It is noteworthy in this respect that a limited number of Israelis have started to take independent positions, expressing freely certain points of view; among them are Mrs. Yehudit Karp, who resigned her chairmanship of the Commission to investigate the practices of Jewish settlers because she was convinced that the Israeli authorities encouraged the settlers to commit terrorist acts. But the existence of such a Commission is no source of security because the governing machinery continues to breed a feeling of enmity and hostility, as well as the idea of expansion and displacement advocated by Meir Kahane in order to promote a Greater Israel free of goyin—non-Jews.

10. We call on the international community once more not to permit the Israeli authorities to disregard United Nations resolutions that express the will of the international community. It is not in the interest of the United Nations or of States, especially the big Powers, to apply different yardsticks to international conduct. It is not at all admissible to consider certain resistance movements as legitimate governments when they wage "wars of liberation" and at the same time to consider the Palestinians who are struggling against the arbitrary aggression of Israel as "terrorists". This discrimination in international criteria will undermine the international Organization and produce excesses that may also lead to a world war.

11. As for the latest events in Al-Khalil, we urge the Council to condemn the Israeli acts in such an explicit way as to leave no doubt about them and to declare null and void all settlement measures taken by Israel. There should be a statement to the effect that the Council would be forced to take the necessary appropriate measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to implement its resolutions. We hasten to say that what has happened in the occupied Arab territories would not have taken place had the Council assumed its responsibilities under the Charter. We have urged that repeatedly in order to safeguard the Charter and for the sake of international peace and security.

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

13. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): Mr. President, I should like to thank you, and through you the members of the Council, for having kindly invited my delegation to participate in the discussions on the situation in the occupied Arab territories. Allow me also to extend to you, Sir, our felicitations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are certain that your outstanding qualities, both personal and professional, will guide the deliberations of the Council. We wish you every success in the fulfilment of your duties.

14. May I also pay a tribute to your predecessor for the manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of July.

15. The Council is once again seized of a situation that has been a burden on the conscience of the international community for many years now. In the larger context of an expansionist policy, the Zionist Government of Israel has on a systematic basis resorted to the most inhuman and barbaric means in order to implement its designs aimed at altering the demographic composition of the Palestinian and other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, thus paving the way for their final annexation.

16. Two main practices have been instrumental in carrying out the ambitious plans of the Zionist entity. The first is to settle as many Jewish families as possible in the newly established settlements and in the Palestinian town and villages, and the second is to evacuate as many members of the Palestinian and Arab indigenous population as possible from those territories, forcing them to seek refuge in the neighbouring Arab countries.

17. According to the norms and principles of international law, and in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] any attempt by the occupying Power to alter the physical character, demographic composition and institutional structure of territories under its occupation are strictly prohibited, and situations resulting from these attempts are considered illegal and void of any validity.

18. When considering the same issue in 1968, the Council, by its resolution 252 (1968), proclaimed illegal the settlement policy of the Government of Israel. This pronouncement was more recently confirmed in resolution 465 (1980) of the Council.

19. The Zionist régime, fully assured of the support of all kinds it receives from its Western friends, and particularly from its patron, the United States, has so far not only failed to pay the slightest attention to the repeated calls of the international community but has even in recent years intensified implementation of its heinous schemes for a Greater Israel. An ever-increasing number of incidents have brought shock and horror to peace- and justice-loving humanity. That is why we do not consider the recent escalation of terror and violence against the Palestinian Arab population of Al-Khalil as an isolated event. It is but a ring in the chain of the terrorization of the civilian population of the occupied territories to the extent of forcing them to abandon their land and property and to seek shelter in neighbouring Arab countries.

20. The military occupation authorities and the Zionist settlers armed by them have not fallen short of the use of any and all horrendous measures that could facilitate attainment of their goals. Consequently, the populations and the locally elected authorities of the occupied Palestinian Arab territories have been subjected to constant acts of harassment, repression and intimidation. These acts have recognized no boundaries, moral or otherwise. Private houses and other properties, local markets, public facilities and, in particular, schools and universities have served as permanent targets of military and settler vigilante attacks. Even highly sacred Muslim places such as

mosques and shrines have not been exempted from these acts of vandalism and terror.

21. During all of last month there were repeated manifestations of these acts in the city of Al-Khalil and some other towns in the occupied Palestinian territories. Houses were attacked, Palestinian-owned buses, cars and shops were set ablaze, electricity and power supplies were cut off, the sanctity of mosques was violated and the University of Hebron was a target of grenade and gas-bomb attacks, and students and teachers were shot at. Similar incidents occurred in Nablus and Bir Zeit. During the shootings at Al-Khalil University of students and professors, 3 Palestinian Arabs died and more than 30 were wounded. The military Government of the occupying Power stood by and did virtually nothing to prevent the armed settler vigilantes engaging in these cynical attacks.

22. The Zionist authorities have implied that the recent spiral of violence against the Palestinians was justified because of an attack on a Jewish settler. Reports from different sources have indicated that the wounded settler, who was attacked by unidentified persons, was not attended by the Israeli military, which thought he was an Arab. It is established that had the wounded person been promptly taken to the hospital, he would have been saved.

23. Whatever the pretext for the Zionist elements, the main cause of violence and bloodshed is the stubborn denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian and Arab peoples and occupation of their land by Israel. It is evident that more and more blood will be shed and people will die unless a comprehensive, just and lasting peace is achieved in the Middle East that would ensure total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and ensure effective exercise by the Palestinian people of their national rights, including the right to establish their national State in Palestine under the leadership of the PLO.

24. The international community has produced several versions of such a settlement, notably the six-point Soviet proposal [*see S/15403, annex*], the Fez plan [*see S/15510, annex*] and numerous resolutions of the General Assembly. Thanks to the flexibility of the PLO, the chances for achieving a settlement would have been tangible had they not been torpedoed by the intransigence of Israel and its overseas supporters.

25. In violation of the relevant resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly, Israel has continued with its policy of settlements in the occupied territories. During the past two months alone, three new settlements have been established and more than 30,000 dunums of land belonging to the Palestinian Arabs have been confiscated.

26. Unless the Council adopts effective measures to force Israel to cease forthwith its illegal activities, there will be an increasing danger of outbursts of violence and armed clashes. The Council should, in our view, explore ways and means, including the adoption of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure implementation of its resolutions. It should be noted that the main obstacle to implementation by the Council of its previous decisions and relations is the abuse of the veto power by the United States. This position of the United States has totally paralysed the Council and prevented it from taking effective action; therefore, the United States bears full responsibility for the continuation of the tragic situation in the occupied territories.

27. The people of the world, and first and foremost the people of Palestine and other occupied territories, have placed their confidence and hope in the Council and expect it to assume its responsibilities under the Charter. Peace, justice and tranquillity cannot be restored to the region unless an end is put to the aggression, occupation and expansionism perpetrated by the Zionist régime.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

29. Mr. GÖÇE (Turkey): At the outset, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the current month. Your outstanding skills and abilities are well known to us all, and we are confident that the deliberations of the Council will once again benefit greatly from your wisdom and experience.

30. I should also like to express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of China, for the skill he displayed in guiding the Council during the month of July.

31. The Council is addressing itself once again to the tragic situation in occupied Arab territories created by the persistence of Israel in pursuing policies of annexation, illegal settlements and endless and increasingly brutal repression.

32. We have learned with trepidation of the shocking occurrences in the city of Al-Khalil, which are yet another manifestation of the fact that Israel is adamant in the pursuit and execution of policies of repression in the Arab territories under its occupation, thus further aggravating the plight of the Arab Palestinian people and the gravity of the situation in the Middle East. The ever-increasing number of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories which have been expropriated and taken over by the Israeli authorities is particularly alarming. Arab Palestinians are systematically being deprived of their land and means of livelihood. The Israeli aim appears to be the liquidation of the Palestinian cause and of the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation.

33. It is perhaps not necessary here to elaborate further on Israel's record in the occupied territories, which is well known to us all. I should like to reiterate that Turkey, as a country which has always taken a resolute stand against the illegal policies of Israel in the occupied Arab territories, is convinced that to be just, lasting and comprehensive the solution to the question of Palestine must, as a

minimum, entail the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and allow the full exercise of the inalienable rights and legitimate aspirations of the Arab Palestinian people, including the right to establish its own independent State. Without Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab Palestinian territories and the return of the Palestinians to their homeland there can be no solution to the Palestinian problem. Turkey also firmly believes that it is the duty of the international community to remind Israel of its responsibilities under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] in the territories under its occupation. Similarly, it is incumbent on the Council to take appropriate measures to prevent Israel from further violating the rules and norms of international law and the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

34. It is most deplorable that Israel is resolute in pursuing policies of annexation, of creating illegal settlements and of repression. The Government of Turkey calls on Israel once again to put an end to this policy. Failure to do so will result in further aggravating the situation in the occupied territories and render the realization of a lasting peace and security in the region unfeasible. In this context, Turkey offers its full co-operation to the Council in its efforts aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.

35. Mr. KRYSTOSIK (Poland): At the very outset, Sir, permit me to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are confident that your experience and abilities will contribute to the efficiency and fruitfulness of our deliberations and that the Council will succeed in discharging its important duties.

36. At the same time, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Ling Qing, of the People's Republic of China, for his diplomatic skill and dedication and for the exemplary manner in which he guided our proceedings in the month of July.

37. May I also take this opportunity to join in welcoming to the Council the new representative of the Netherlands, Mr. van der Stoel, and to wish him success in his work.

38. For many years, the situation in the occupied Arab territories has been on the agenda of the Council. For a long time now, the international community has been witnessing a constant deterioration in the situation there as a result of the policy of the Israeli occupation authorities. The world has been seeing the enormous sufferings of the Palestinian people. It has been watching the steps taken by the aggressor in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, of resolutions adopted by the Council and the General Assembly, of the provisions of international law and of world public opinion.

39. Poland's position concerning the Israeli policies of aggression and creeping annexation has been presented many times, both in this chamber and from the rostrum of the General Assembly. We have also set forth our views at meetings of those United Nations committees that deal with issues related to Israeli activities and their most serious consequences and implications. We have more than once spoken strongly for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State. We have more than once emphasized that the total, unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem, is one of the prerequisites for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We have more than once pointed out that the Israeli policy of aggression, territorial expansion, annexation and illegal settlements, pursued in flagrant violation of international law, can only add to the increase of tension in the powder-keg situation in the Middle East, which threatens a new conflagration at any moment.

40. It goes without saying that this policy poses a serious threat to peace and security not only in the region, but also in the world at large, for the consequences for the tensions in the Middle East are on a much broader scale than the regional scale. The entire world awaits a peaceful settlement there.

41. Yet, as is known, for years the policy of the Israeli authorities has made it impossible to find a just and lasting solution to the crisis. It is also known that Israel alone could not afford to play the role of the spearhead of aggression. In its actions, however, it can fully rely on those forces which, in the escalation of tension in the Middle East, see the possibility of attaining their objectives. Israel knows that its war machine enjoys the unrestricted and unquestioning support and assistance of its strategic ally, the United States, which looks earnestly towards a military buildup in the region and towards tensions and aggression that serve its objectives. Advertising piecemeal approaches and separatist agreements, its foreign policy actively enhances its strategic goals.

42. Our firm point of view on the situation in the Middle East is well known. There is no need to repeat it at length once again. It is in the records of the Council, as well as in the documents of other bodies of the United Nations.

43. However, my delegation cannot but strongly stress anew that the present resumed consideration by the Council of the situation in the occupied territories takes place under extremely grave circumstances. The previous cases of repression and the use of force and terror which were considered not so long ago are still fresh in our memory. The smoke from the previous shootings has barely cleared when yet another act of violence against the Palestinian Arabs has been committed.

44. The constant recurrence of acts of brutal terror and violence, such as the recent ones in the city of Hebron, should be a grim and tragic reminder that the Council should fulfil its responsibility concerning the Arab and Palestinian population in the West Bank and other occupied territories. The Council should take effective and urgent action. It should very forcefully declare the illegal-

ity and inadmissibility of Israeli settlements, which have become a deadly weapon in the policy of annexation pursued by the Israeli authorities.

45. One need not argue that the expanded construction of new Israeli settlements, the expropriation of Arab property to carry out these projects and the application of such methods as the demolition and sealing of dwellings and commercial premises constitute the integral parts of a policy directed at changing the legal, physical and demographic status of the occupied Arab territories. Proof of Israeli expansionism can be seen in its unilateral annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem, a deliberate colonization effort leading to a gradual economic and administrative integration of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with Israel, and by the extension of the Israeli juridicial and administrative system over the Golan Heights, as well as by the dubious practices in the southern parts of Lebanon. These practices, accompanied by various forms of repression and terror, permit us to nurture no illusions as to the true intentions of the occupation authorities.

46. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, the provisions foreseen in the draft resolution [*S/15895*] constitute the least that the Council can do to live up to the requirements of the grave situation in the territories under Israeli occupation and to meet the expectations of the international community—that an end be put to the process of deterioration of this situation before the policy of *faits accomplis* in annexation of Arab territories achieves its sinister long-range objectives.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. AL-BOAININ (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure at the beginning of my statement, Sir, to express sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency for the month August. I am confident that, with your experience and ability and under your guidance, the Council's proceedings will succeed.

49. I also wish, Sir, to take this opportunity to express appreciation of the competence that your predecessor, the representative of China, displayed in directing the work of the Council in July.

50. The convening of the Council in the wake of the bloody events that befell the occupied Arab city of Al-Khalil is in itself a significant indication that the situation in the occupied Arab territories has deteriorated in such a way as to jeopardize international peace and security.

51. However, this is not the first meeting of the Council to be held in response to the will of the international community, which, in the face of the unceasing and increasingly audacious crimes of Israel, cannot but try time and time again, within the framework of its competence provided for by the Charter of the United Nations, to adopt measures that will put an end to Israel's persistent arrogance and its flouting of the purposes of the Charter, the principles of international law, the resolutions of the United Nations and all moral norms and rules. This meeting is but a link in a chain of meetings of the Council that Israel has done everything possible to thwart.

52. As a result of the absolute political support given to it by a super-Power, a permanent member of the Council, Israel continues to tighten its grip over the population of the occupied West Bank. That support also frustrates the will of the absolute majority of the States Members of the United Nations as embodied in innumerable resolutions in support of Arab rights, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Those resolutions condemn the Israeli occupation and consider as null and void all the measures taken by Israel to annex the Golan Heights and Arab Jerusalem and to build Jewish settlements.

53. As all the members of the Council know, however, Israel's ambitions are focused on Arab territories emptied of their indigenous inhabitants. The Palestinians have refused to submit to repressive and oppressive measures, to the confiscation of lands and to the limitation of their freedoms; that is, they have refused to accept the artificial reality of gradual Judaization, which the occupation authorities are attempting to impose on them. Therefore, the leaders of Israel have been possessed by an insane, blood-thirsty determination, unprecedented in modern history since the fall of nazism, physically to liquidate the Palestinian people.

54. We do not think that this obvious conclusion is an excessive one. What other explanation is there of this ferocious campaign being carried out by armed Jewish settlers against defenceless Palestinians in the West Bank? What other explanation is there of the spoliation of schools and universities, of indiscriminate killing, of desecration of the holy places and houses of prayer in the Holy City of Al-Quds and other Arab cities, of the confiscation of lands, of the demolition of houses, and of the dismissal of mayors and elected members of municipal councils—or, if deportation does not work, of their murder? That is only part of the list of Israel's barbaric Israeli crimes, with which United Nations documents are replete.

55. Worse still, the determination of the Israelis to liquidate the Palestinians at any price has led to various barbaric campaigns aimed at harming the population of the West Bank and Gaza, through both military and political manoeuvres. To achieve its designs, Israel did not hesitate to ravage Lebanon and to occupy its land, as it is still doing. Its leaders did not deny that their main purpose was to eliminate the Palestinians. The proof of that—if proof were needed—is the ferocious bombardment of Beirut and the carnage at Sabra and Shatila and the continuing massacres in occupied southern Lebanon, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

56. The delegation of the State of Qatar has denounced the Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories, in particular the policy of building illegal Jewish settlements, which is considered to be one of the main obstacles to the achievement of peace in the Middle East. My delegation

therefore urges the members of the Council to give rein to the will of the international community, which Israel has thus far been able to thwart, and thereby to discharge fully their responsibility in the face of this act of wanton aggression against the Palestinian people and to grant that people its national and political rights, undiminished, as set forth in United Nations resolutions.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Sudan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

58. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to extend to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are fully confident that your diplomatic abilities and wide experience will enable you to lead the work of the Council to a successful conclusion.

59. At the same time, I cannot but convey our great appreciation to Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of the friendly People's Republic of China, for the competence with which he guided the Council last month.

60. The events and gross violations now taking place in the occupied Palestinian territories are but one link in the chain of the deliberate Zionist plot by which Israel has been seeking for many years to annihilate the Arab people of Palestine and to destroy completely the foundation of its Arab, Christian and Islamic cultural life throughout the occupied Arab territories.

61. In putting into practice this criminal aggressive scheme, Israel has not confined itself to waging war after war on various spurious pretexts and justifications. Rather, after achieving large-scale expansion and occupation, it has resorted to practices runing the gamut of acts of terrorism and crimes against the Arab citizens and against their holy places and their lands in order to force them, directly or indirectly, to abandon their homes and lands and to flee for their lives.

62. Persisting in its folly and intoxicated with its own military might, Israel continues to implement its settlements scheme with all the means at the disposal both of the State and the authorities—and these means are numerous—and of the citizenry itself, through various organizations, parties and individuals. This endeavour complements and supplements the acts of the Government and is daily reflected in numerous reports of crimes, assassinations and acts of aggression committed against the population of Arab territories, who stand steadfast under occupation despite torture, humiliation and terrorism. They are defenceless save for their belief in their God, their homeland, their lands and their usurped rights. This is a condition imposed on them while groups of imported Zionist settlers are permitted to bear all kinds of weapons and use all means to carry out murder and terrorism. This is happening in a State that is armed to the teeth and, as was stated by a previous speaker the other day, one that not only acquires weapons from the most modern arsenals but even manufactures them for sale in the worst markets, such as that of racist South Africa.

63. The recent events in Al-Khalil and other Arab cities and towns and the attack on the Islamic University of Al-Khalil on 26 July, with the shooting of 3 of its Arab students and the wounding of 40 others, are all part and parcel of the Zionist terrorist scheme designed to drive the indigenous population from the Arab territories and to Judaize them completely.

64. The Council has met every time that Israel carries out another phase in its criminal settler scheme, even though the Council declared three years ago that the settlements established by Israel in the Arab territories occupied since 1967 were illegal and should be dismantled, since their presence constituted a major impediment to peace, as stated in resolution 465 (1980) and other relevant resolutions of the Council. But Israel still persists in its folly, heedless of resolutions adopted by the entire world represented in the Council as the supreme international organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. As is clearly evident from its policies and practices, Israel pays no heed to international norms and laws which consider its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories illegal and which stipulate that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible. All international instruments, foremost among them the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] call upon the occupying Power to respect the rights of the population of the occupied territories and prohibit their deportation or evacuation by any means, not to mention acts of terrorism which Israel persistently commits every day. Naturally, Israel realizes all of this, but, as repeatedly stated by its representative before the Council and other United Nations organs, it will not comply with resolutions nor be guided by international instruments and norms so long as it can act with impunity.

65. The intransigence and arrogance of Israel and its denial of the existence of the Palestinian Arab people and their legitimate rights to self-determination and to their lands, its use of terrorism, threats and force to destroy and annihilate the Palestinian Arab people, to humiliate them and bring them to their knees, instead of acknowledging their legitimate rights that have been acknowledged by the whole world, all affirm the magnitude of Israel's dependence on and belief in oppression, war, aggression, expansion and terrorism as the sole option in its relations with the Palestinians and the Arabs.

66. Together with others in the Council and in other important international bodies, we have called upon Israel to realize fully that peace is indivisible and that justice is not confined to any one people. The question of Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people are without a doubt at the core of the conflict in the Middle East. There can be no lasting, comprehensive and just peace in that region without Israel's total withdrawal from the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including

their rights to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State on their territory under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. Here I should like to reiterate the support of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and their solidarity with the heroic and valiant struggle being waged by the fraternal Palestinian Arab people and with the PLO and its leaders, who are the symbol of the Palestinian revolution, and our brother, the valiant freedom fighter Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

67. The failure of the United Nations and of the entire international community represented in the Council so far to induce Israel to renounce its policy of establishing settlements gives rise to concern and indignation. But we hope that the Council will this time condemn and denounce Israel's barbaric actions in the occupied Arab territories and hold it fully responsible for those crimes. It is incumbent upon the Council, since it is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take such measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations as would put an end to the Israeli practices which fall outside the laws and norms forming the basis of relations among nations, foremost among which is international law and the Charter. We sincerely hope that the present meetings of the Council will not, like their predecessors, be a mere reaction to another link in the chain of acts carried out by the Israeli conspirators against the Palestinians and Arabs pending yet another link and another series of meetings of the Council. We call upon the entire international community to assume its political, humanitarian and moral duties towards the Palestinian Arab people, who have been suffering from the scourge of oppression, displacement, terrorism and deprivation—and even massacres and genocide—for half a century while the conscience of the world and humanity remains silent.

68. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to join others in warmly welcoming you to the presidency of the Council. I am sure that your wit and diplomatic skills will steer us safely through this period.

69. I should like also to thank the representative of China, whose skilful and courteous way of dealing with our affairs was particularly noticeable during his term as President of the Council in the month of July.

70. I can be brief. My delegation is on record many times as having deplored the dangerous cycle of violence and repression in the occupied territories. We do so yet again today.

71. The latest atrocity in Hebron is one of a series that will not be stopped until the underlying causes have been removed.

72. This atrocity has been condemned by the Israeli authorities at the highest level. We note that fact, and I am sure that others, even if they have not mentioned it in their statements to the Council, will have noted it also. We hope there will be a full and determined investigation into this incident, which led to the deaths of three young students and the wounding of many others at the University of Hebron.

73. During this debate we have listened to an indictment of Israel and its policies delivered very often in highly emotional language. I know emotions run deep on both sides, but I do not believe language of this sort will have much effect on Israeli attitudes or policies. Indeed, it may well serve to reinforce Israel's apparent imperviousness to the results of debates in the Council. Such language makes it easy for Israel to discount or to write off such debates as the mere froth of fanatics. It would be wrong to do so, but, surely, the Council should not make it easier for it to do so. I therefore dissociate myself from the tone of much of the criticism of Israel. I do not, however, dissociate myself from some of the substance.

74. We have listened to many speakers who have expressed the sincerely held fears of many Arabs that the Arabs in the occupied territories are being squeezed out of their land by pressures from Israeli policies and by acts of terrorism.

75. My Government regards Israeli policies in the occupied territories with profound and continuing concern. We are deeply worried by the Israeli policy on settlements. It is this that lies at the heart of the mistrust and tension there.

76. I say, yet again, that we consider these settlements to be contrary to international law and to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. This principle is embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

77. The Israeli settlements policy undermines confidence that Israel is ready to negotiate freely about the final state of the occupied territories. My Government calls on Israel, just as President Reagan has called on Israel, to put an end now to this damaging policy and to declare an immediate settlements freeze.

78. I do not suggest that it is the Israeli settlements policy which alone prevents a move by all parties towards a negotiated settlement. That is certainly not the case. But I believe the best way to lower tension now and to start to rebuild confidence between Israel and its neighbours would be to relaunch efforts towards a negotiated settlement.

79. I call on the parties to exercise the restraint that will be required if the necessary, but elusive, dialogue is to replace the unnecessary, but pervasive violence, which, I regret, characterizes the region at present.

80. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all, Sir, to congratulate you very warmly on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are convinced that our work will benefit from your diplomatic skill—characteristic of your country—and from your intelligence and experience.

81. We also wish to congratulate Mr. Ling Qing, of China, for the wise and exemplary manner in which he conducted our proceedings during the past month.

82. Since the suspension of the Council's meetings on this item, we have been kept fully informed, through letters addressed to the President of the Council, regarding the outrages and crimes of which the Palestinian people has been the victim at the hands of the Zionist Government and system in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. There is no need to go into the long list of specific instances of these crimes of which the international community is well aware. Unfortunately, it is no exaggeration to say that Zionist terrorism has manifested itself in all imaginable forms—assassinations, kidnappings, threats, imprisonment, expulsions, demolition of homes and punishment of families, landowners and entire populations.

83. Israel is indiscriminate in its abhorrent acts: children, students, women, trade unionists and refugees—all are victims of this policy. They are all considered equally guilty of what the racist régime views as a crime: being Palestinian.

84. As to the executioners of the Palestinian people, we can say that they are primarily the Israeli authorities, to which can be added the settlers, whose conduct has from time to time been criticized by the Israeli Government.

85. The appeals of the Government of Israel to the settlers not to take the law into their own hands have no credibility whatsoever, primarily because they come from those who are the instigators and the prime movers of the very abuses they would control and, secondly, because punishment of the guilty is practically non-existent, the sentences imposed being ridiculously out of proportion to the seriousness of the crimes.

86. The recent killing of Palestinians in the city of Hebron is but one link in a long chain of crimes committed by Israel in the Palestinian territories. The seriousness of the situation in the settlements is becoming more critical day by day, and the facts supplied by the PLO and Arab States should be of concern to all members of the Council. In particular, we listened attentively to the representative of Jordan when he indicated that the number of Israelis transferred to the occupied territories since 1967 had reached more than 200,000 and that Israel planned to bring that number to 200,000 persons by the end of the decade [*2457th meeting, para. 14*].

87. According to the Israeli press, since 10 May Israeli ministries and settlement organizations have launched a "Campaign to populate the settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza". That campaign is conducted by the Ministries of Agriculture, Science and Development, and Housing, together with the Organization for Settlements and other semi-official Zionist organizations.

88. To attract possible settlers, the Israeli population was bombarded with propaganda about the material benefits to be gained in the settlements.

89. In the May propaganda campaign, the Israeli Government pointed out that the number of places available for living was limited but that in the future there would be more land for all those Jews who wanted it. To facilitate decisions in favour of the settlements, the Israeli Government lends between $120,000 and $150,000 to families who live in "developing cities"—that is what the Israeli authorities have called what is nothing more than an illegal act, scorning all international norms and authority and violating peace—and that represents between four and six times more than is loaned to families living in other places in Israel.

90. The Israeli movement known as Peace Now has denounced what the Zionist Government has been saying, namely, that, since the invasion of Lebanon, Palestinians are "more willing to sell their land". What that really means is that recently there has been a considerable increase in acts of violence against the Palestinian people and a systematic increase in expropriation and plundering by the Israeli military authorities.

91. All the mistreatment inflicted on the Palestinian people has become widespread practices that have repeatedly been denounced in the United Nations. We all know that the human rights of the Palestinians, without exception, have been crudely violated by Israel, and it is practically an institutionalized process in the United Nations to search out permanent ways of curbing those practices. As Council resolution 452 (1979) declares, Israel's policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories has no legal validity and constitutes a violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.[1] Similarly, paragraph 5 of Council resolution 465 (1980) states, *inter alia:*

> "that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof have no legal validity."

92. Also, Israel is in flagrant violation of the abovementioned Geneva Convention, in particular the sixth paragraph of article 49 which prohibits the occupying Power from evacuating or from transferring a part of its own population to the territory occupied by it.

93. The draft resolution which has been circulated [*S/15895*] is a balanced document which my delegation fully supports. This draft, which is based largely on principles accepted by the Council in earlier resolutions and adheres strictly to the norms of international law, should enjoy the unanimous support of the members of the Council.

94. Neither the tortures, harassment, threats, massive reprisals nor the plundering constitutes the most serious violation of the human rights of the people of Palestine by Israel, because all that is the result of the denial of a more basic right—the right of the Palestinian people to an existence. Israel does not recognize that right and has demon-

strated that *ad nauseam*. The massive killing of Palestinians has taken place over the years, and the bloodshed in the genocidal acts at Sabra and Shatila that shocked and horrified the world is still fresh.

95. Equally important is the Palestinian people's right to self-determination; its denial is the root cause of other violations of human rights of a population of nearly 4 million. The end of military and political occupation of Palestinian territory is an indispensable prerequisite if the Palestinian people is to exercise its other rights.

96. I should like here to cite the Political Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March. We consider particularly relevant to the Council's deliberations the condemnation in that declaration of United States support of Israel in all fields, especially the military and political support, without which the Zionist State could not continue its policy of flouting and scorning the Council's resolutions and decisions; nor could it continue its illegal occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories. I would also remind the Council of the appeal made in that declaration to the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, to cease its abuse of the right of veto, which has prevented the Council from taking the necessary action to implement the universally recognized principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, and to enable the Palestinian people to recover its inalienable rights. Also relevant to this debate is the appeal made to the members of the Security Council to play their role and discharge their responsibilities so that the Council may take appropriate measures, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to establish and guarantee peace and security in the Middle East. The time has come for the Council to take the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, in view of Israel's conduct ever since its establishment in Palestine in 1948 [*see S/15675 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex*].

97. The various preparatory meetings of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine made clear that the cause of the Palestinian people enjoys broad, world-wide support. From 11 to 15 April of this year, at the regional meeting of Latin America held at Managua, the various rights of the Palestinian people were reaffirmed and important recommendations were made to the States of the region and to the United Nations to take action to contribute to a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the problem of Palestine. Among the matters being dealt with by the Council which were discussed at that meeting and which appear in its final document I might mention the appeal addressed to the Council to investigate actions committed by Israel against the Palestinian people in violation of the norms of international law and to report the results of that investigation.

98. The Council was also asked to endorse the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and to use all the relevant provisions of the Charter to implement those recommendations. Regrettably, it has not been possible to do so thus far.

99. Finally, the Council was urged to consider the report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) [*S/14268*] and to reactivate that commission to determine the facts regarding the establishment of unlawful settlements by Israel in the occupied territories and the consequences thereof.

100. In the light of these recommendations and on the eve of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, to be held at Geneva, the time is appropriate for the Council to take action as the primary body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. Recommendations such as these and the actions set forth in the draft resolution now before the Council [*S/15895*] constitute urgent and immediate tasks for the Council. The Arab States, the PLO and all peoples that cherish peace and justice are hoping that the Council and its members will abide by their inescapable obligations, for failure to do so would seriously jeopardize the prestige, effectiveness and role of this distinguished body and the role it should play.

101. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Bahrain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

102. Mr. AL-SABBAGH (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, permit me to express our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August and to pay a tribute to your abilities and your experience in successfully conducting the work of the Council.

103. I am also pleased to express our appreciation to the representative of China for the masterful way in which he presided over the proceedings of the Council during the month of July.

104. The acts of violence that have occurred in Al-Khalil, Nablus, Bir Zeit and other towns of the West Bank are the inevitable result of Israel's continuous occupation and of the perpetuation of its aggressive expansionist policy. Israel has confiscated about 60 per cent of the territory of the West Bank, not to mention Gaza and the Golan Heights. It resorts to systematic terrorization of the inhabitants of these territories, forcing them to leave their towns and villages.

105. The Jewish bands that ravaged the Islamic University of Al-Khalil on 26 July, killing three innocent civilians and injuring many others, were a manifestation of that systematic policy of carefully planned terrorist activities against Arab citizens in order to force them to flee their homeland. It is no secret that these repressive measures are carried out in full view and with the knowledge of the Israeli army and security forces. These activities fall within a series of acts of systematic Israeli terrorism exemplified by the massacres of Sabra and Shatila and, a few years earlier, in the massacres of Qibya and Deir Yassin.

106. The mass poisoning to which schoolgirls in the West Bank were subjected last March, as well as the consequences for the Arab inhabitants there, ranging from fear to mass hysteria, were covered in detail in the international press.

107. All this has taken place against the backdrop of the impotence of the United Nations, the Security Council and the international community. Yet everyone realizes the heavy moral and political responsibility borne by the United Nations *vis-à-vis* Palestine and its Arab population.

108. Israel owes its existence to resolution 181 (II) adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 1947. Ever since then, world public opinion has become well aware of Israel's expansionist designs and its continuous acts of terrorism against the Arab population. In these crimes Israel has invoked historical and Talmudic claims, as well as giving security reasons. While this has taken place, there has been complete apathy of international morals and conscience. Those who claim to defend human rights should not close their eyes to what has been taking place in the occupied Arab territories in flagrant violation of human rights, which are the same for everyone and not confined to one people to the exclusion of others. The friends and allies of Israel must persuade it to comply with the Council's resolutions.

109. Israel's policy in the occupied Arab territories, especially in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, is based on annexation. To achieve that goal, it has used all means to oppose the achievement of a just and lasting peace and has frustrated all efforts and peace initiatives, the latest being the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982 [*see S/15510, annex*].

110. In applying that policy, Israel has resorted to violence and the use of force, considering war a convenient way to oppose the aspirations of the Arab peoples. It has at all times sought to impose capitulation on the Arabs and to force the Palestinians to abandon their lands so that they can be settled by Zionists.

111. Side by side with this military activity is the policy of establishing settlements. The tactic followed, with complete logic, has been to perpetuate chaos and disorder, leading to the dismemberment of these areas. Israel's security is based on its pursuing pre-emptive war against its Arab neighbours and the other States of the region. This logic led it to bombard the Iraqi nuclear reactor that was built for peaceful purposes.

112. In its resolution 465 (1980), the Council condemned the policy of settler-expansionism of Israel, declaring that all the measures taken were illegal and stated that continuation of that policy obstructed efforts to establish a just peace in the region and contravened all international norms and laws concerning war and the occupation of territories.

113. The sixth paragraph of article 49 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] stipulates that: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies." The policy of establishing settlements is a flagrant violation of that principle.

114. The State of Bahrain appeals to the Council to discharge fully the responsibilities entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations. It must fulfil its obligations to protect the populations of the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories from the acts of aggression being carried out by armed Israeli settlers. The great Powers, because of their special responsibilities for safeguarding peace and security in the region, and as a matter of right and justice, must also work towards that end by bringing pressure to bear on Israel in conformity with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

115. The response of the Council to the request to call this important meeting underlines the gravity of the events that have overtaken the population of the occupied Arab Palestinian territories, as well as of the threats that imperil peace and security in the Middle East. The question of Palestine lies at the heart of the Middle East problem; the wishes of the Palestinian people must be realized and they must be enabled to have their own State on their national soil. The Council must call for implementation of resolution 465 (1980), which stressed the illegality and illegitimacy of the Israeli settlements. The best way to end the Arab-Israeli conflict is to reach a just and lasting peace, acceptable to all parties, through implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council. The Council must redouble its efforts to compel Israel to respect its relevant resolutions and to take into account the national, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as well as their right to exercise self-determination under the leadership of the PLO.

116. Israel, as I mentioned earlier, owes both its very existence and the recognition of that existence to a United Nations resolution. It should not therefore be very difficult for the Council, with the authority vested in it under the Charter, to compel Israel to implement the Council's resolutions concerning the illegality of the Israeli settlements, as well as other resolutions of the Council, such as resolution 242 (1967). That would be conducive to the strengthening of confidence of peoples and States in the United Nations as an edifice of peace and justice, as well as to increasing the confidence of the world in the Organization and in its ability to halt aggression and to establish peace, security and justice in a region that has experienced so much chaos and anguish, a region whose States must now turn their energies to development in an atmosphere of genuine peace.

117. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): First of all, may I extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency. The Council will undoubtedly benefit greatly from the outstanding abilities you have shown on so many occasions.

118. I should also like to pay a tribute to the representative of China, who presided over the Council with so much wisdom and patience in the month of July.

119. This is not the first time this year that we have met to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories. Recent disturbances in the city of Hebron have made it imperative, however, to address this question urgently once more. The Netherlands Government condemns the recent killings committed in that city that claimed the life of one Israeli student who was stabbed to death in the town market-place on 7 July and the lives of three Arab students, as well as the wounding of many others when masked gunmen opened fire on a crowd of students at the Islamic University of Hebron on 26 July. At present it is still unclear who committed these shameful acts. As the occupying Power, however, the Government of Israel bears responsibility for maintaining order in the occupied territories. We note that the Israeli authorities have announced that they will investigate the various incidents in and around Hebron. We call upon them to conduct such investigations thoroughly and extensively and to see to it that those responsible for these acts are brought to justice.

120. In his letter dated 11 July 1983 [*S/15865*], the representative of Israel has informed us of the decision of the Israeli authorities to dismiss the appointed Mayor of Hebron, Mr. Mustafa Al-Natshe, and the members of the City Council. We deplore that decision, and we disagree with the reasons given for it. In our opinion, the Mayor of Hebron can hardly be blamed for the disturbances in his city, which are caused mainly by outside pressures. Instead of dismissing the Mayor, a clear decision of the Israeli authorities not to allow the expansion of Israeli settlements into the centre of that city would have been more helpful in calming down the situation.

121. The events in Hebron are visible evidence of the negative and dangerous consequences of Israel's settlement policy. The position of the Netherlands on this matter is quite clear. We have repeatedly stated that the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907[2] and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] are applicable to the territories occupied in 1967. It is therefore our firm view that the Israeli settlements in those territories, as well as the changes in the status and in the demographic structure of those territories, which are a major source of tension, have no legal validity under international law. Moreover, Israel's settlements policy runs counter to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, as specified in Council resolution 242 (1967). During his recent visit to Israel, the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hans van den Broek, reiterated this view. Moreover, we have repeatedly called upon the Government of Israel to rescind forthwith its decision further to increase the number of settlements in the occupied territories. Each construction or expansion of a settlement will only increase the strong and justified resentment of the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

122. I whole-heartedly agree with the remarks made by the representative of the United Kingdom with regard to the tone of the present debate. At the same time, however, this debate reaffirms once more the nearly unanimous view of the international community that the Israeli settlement policies and practices have grave consequences for all efforts and initiatives towards a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is a matter of grave concern to my Government that all peace efforts in the Middle East now seem to have bogged down again. Israel's settlements policy is clearly one of the most serious obstacles to progress towards a peaceful settlement in the area. However, another essential prerequisite for peace is that all parties to the conflict recognize the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries. In our opinion, the achievement of a comprehensive and lasting peace is hardly conceivable without all parties adhering to this fundamental principle, which, as is well-known, was set out by the nine member States of the European Community in their declaration published at Venice of 13 June 1980 [*S/14009*]. The Netherlands, for its part, remains convinced that there can be no real peace or stability in the region unless the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that this implies, is recognized and laid down in a comprehensive settlement, which would at the same time recognize the principle of security for all States in the region.

123. In conclusion, let me state that the Netherlands will cast a positive vote on the draft resolution, contained in document S/15895, concerning the situation in the occupied territories. In casting our positive vote on this draft, however, we wish to place on record that in our view the wording of operative paragraph 6 should have been more balanced. As I have stated before, the Netherlands condemns all killings which have recently taken place in Hebron.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

125. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month, and I extend thanks to you, and through you to the members of the Council, for allowing my delegation to participate in the deliberations on this important question.

126. I should also like to express gratitude to Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for his wise conduct of the Council's work last month.

127. The Council meets once again to consider the problem of the Palestinian people and the situation in the occupied territories in general. The situation has been deteriorating from day to day as a result of the practices of the Zionist entity, or, rather, the neo-Nazi entity. These practices have been carried out consistently and systematically for more than 30 years, during which the neo-Nazis

have perpetrated crimes and illegal and immoral acts which contravene the Charter of the United Nations, and the international convenants on human rights that govern the occupied territories, the principle of equality and the right of peoples to self-determination. This entity did not confine itself to the usurpation of Palestinian territories in 1948 and non-compliance with United Nations resolutions; it persisted in a racist policy of annexation, forcing the Arab population to evacuate their territories so as to bring in aliens from various parts of the world and arming them. Human rights have been consistently violated in the occupied Arab territories, and discriminatory racist laws have been imposed against the Arabs.

128. The Zionist entity has committed acts of aggression against the neighbouring Arab countries, attacked the nuclear reactor in Baghdad, invaded Lebanon, where its forces are still sowing terror among the civilian population, annexed the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, despite the opposition of the international community, and has been establishing settlements illegally in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. It has established more than 150 settlements on more than 50 per cent of the land in the West Bank, using more than 80 per cent of the water sources. There are more than 150,000 new invaders in the West Bank and Gaza, to say nothing of those in the Golan Heights. Since 1967, the Zionist occupation authorities have issued more than 1,000 military decrees to justify their illegal practices, in contravention of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] which prohibits any demographic or geographic change in occupied territories.

129. As for the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, these have taken several forms, including depriving the Arabs of education by closing down universities and schools, expelling teachers and changing the curricula; the dismissal of elected mayors; the demolition of houses; the imposition of mass punishments; the desecration of places of worship; and the periodic imposition of a curfew on some towns in the West Bank.

130. Those policies and practices of the neo-Nazi entity proceed from odious racist dogmas, such as those of "God's chosen people" and "Greater Israel" and the establishment of a State in which there is room only for the Jew, as defined by zionism. The leaders of the Zionist movement direct their aggression against the Arab people because the Zionists consider Arabs to be the major impediment to the realization of the expansionist schemes of zionism and a threat to the Jewish character of the State of Israel.

131. Hence, the arming of the settlers is a concrete expression of the ideas of fanatical Zionists such as Rabbi Meir Kahane, who has been calling for the expulsion of all non-Jews from Israel. Even when it comes to Jews, Rabbi Kahane has a certain opinion as to who is to be considered a Jew. Thus, there is racist discrimination between adherents of the Jewish religion. This rabbi also calls for the exercise of democracy in Israel to be confined to the Jews, depriving the indigenous Arab population, Christians and Muslims, of any democracy. These declared ideas are the essence of the concrete practices currently unfolding in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. The most recent example was the terrorist attack on the Islamic University of Al-Khalil, on 26 July, which resulted in the murder of three university students and the wounding of many others.

132. I do not wish to burden the Council with the details of events. Suffice it to recall the statement in this regard of our brother, Zehdi Labib Terzi, the representative of the PLO, to the Council on 28 July [*2457th meeting*].

133. The policy of the neo-Nazi Zionist entity is one of aggression, expansion, terrorism and racism, which is defended sometimes by the pretext of security and at other times by that of religious right. This policy will persist, despite the outcry and appeals of the world conscience. As the General Assembly was told by Mr. Victor Gauci, Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, on 30 November 1982:

> "Influential voices assert with greater conviction that it is time to call a halt to this policy and to the muddled approaches of the past.
>
> "Perhaps the most poignant and significant call for a new approach was made on 26 October . . . by the novelist Amos Kenan. Let me use his own words:
>
> > 'As long as you Americans help us to stand up, we Israelis have no chance to stand on our own feet. We have no chance to have peace as long as you support us in war. We have no chance to straighten out our relationships with our neighbours as long as you help us forget that they, too, are legitimate children of humanity and that they, too, have legitimate rights.'"[3]

134. The tragedy of the Palestinian people and the instability in the Arab region should be laid at the door of successive American Administrations. The international community knows that the Zionist entity could not have persisted in murdering thousands of Arabs, displacing an entire people and carrying on a policy of expansion and aggression without the enormous economic and military assistance flowing unconditionally from the United States, aid which was used for murdering the Palestinian people, for repeated acts of aggression against the Arab States and for establishing settlements.

135. According to *The New York Times* of 26 June, American assistance to the Zionist entity has amounted over the past years to more than $25 billion; the same source states that the assistance allocated by the present American Administration to that entity amounts to 2.5 billion, including military assistance of $1.7 billion. That figures in the annual budget and is in addition to large sums proposed by some members of Congress to increase support for the Israeli war machine.

136. Nor has the unlimited support of the United States for the Zionist entity been confined to the military and

economic fields; it extends to the political and human spheres as well and to the signing of the strategic co-operation agreement between the United States and the Zionists.

137. The position taken in the United Nations, and particularly in the Security Council and other international forums, by the United States Government in support of the Zionist entity is well known. It is proof of the collusion of the United States Government with the Zionist régime in its policy of aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation aimed at imposing American-Zionist solutions of capitulation and American hegemony and control in the Arab region. Acts of military provocation and terrorism by United States ships and planes in the Arab region, and the American policy, which is completely biased in favour of the Zionist aggressor, have exacerbated tensions in the region, increased the threats to international peace and security and obstructed all international efforts and initiatives to achieve peace in the Middle East.

138. The actions of the United States Government have been brought about by the blackmail of United States officials and institutions by Zionist organizations and by the intervention of those organizations in United States political life and by all kinds of immoral means to control American decision-makers and put pressure on them in the service of the Zionist entity.

139. The United States Government uses the Zionist entity as a tool with which to control the Arab region and to sow discord among Jews, Christians and Muslims.

140. It has been universally acknowledged that the core of the Middle East question is the question of Palestine and that any solution of that question which does not take account in the first place of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its territory will remain incomplete and be doomed to failure.

141. In order to prevent the Council's current deliberations from becoming another occasion on which mere concern is expressed over the plight of the Palestinian people, we call on the Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter by holding the Zionist entity responsible for these acts of terrorism and condemning its expansionist Zionist practices and policies in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. The Council must take concrete steps to deter the aggressor, end the policy of establishing settlements and dissuade States from aiding the Zionist entity in pursuing its settlements policy and its violation of human rights in the occupied territories.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

143. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Sir, I congratulate you, the representative of France, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We believe that your well-known acumen will serve the Council, and all of us, in very good stead.

144. Our appreciation goes also to your predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing, representative of the People's Republic of China, who successfully guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of July with wisdom and dedication.

145. The Council is again considering the consequences of the aggressive policy of Israel, which is stopping at nothing in order to subjugate the people and illegally acquire Palestinian and other Arab territories. This is being done by aggression, repression and persecution. The expansion into the territory of neighbouring countries is continuing.

146. The crisis in the region is continually being exacerbated, and the indiscriminate use of force and arms has brought about a situation in which peace and security have practically ceased to exist. In this environment of aggression and terror imposed by Israel, illegal settlement on Palestinian and Arab soil and property is continuing, in flagrant violation of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

147. The Palestinian issue cannot be resolved by terror and repression in the Palestinian homeland. Violence perpetrated by the occupation forces against the Palestinian people, against its youth and its students, is aimed at intimidating them and at annihilating their resolve not to be enslaved and not to yield in the face of threats of further destruction and usurpation.

148. The Palestinian people has more than once shown that it will not surrender its rights to independence and freedom. No one can deprive this courageous and martyred people of those rights today; its struggle merits our full-fleged solidarity and support.

149. The peoples of Yugoslavia fought and won their freedom and independence, and they are jealously guarding it. This is one of the sources of our support of the people of Palestine and of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, and of our belief that freedom cannot exist if it is not enjoyed by all.

150. Last week, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, paid a visit to Yugoslavia. The President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Mika Spiljak, had talks with Chairman Arafat. Mr. Spiljak pointed out on that occasion once again that the just aspirations of the Palestinian people should receive the undivided support of all countries and peoples dedicated to freedom, independence and peace.

151. The non-aligned countries have repeatedly pointed out that the Israeli policy of aggression in the Middle East is one of the most dangerous threats to peace and security in the world. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, non-aligned countries once

again strongly supported the Palestinian cause and called for a solution of the crisis based on the principles of the policy of non-alignment and of the Charter of the United Nations.

152. Yugoslavia, together with other non-aligned countries, considers that the question of Palestine and the Middle East conflict can be settled only in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. Such a settlement must be just, comprehensive and lasting; it should ensure the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and enable the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, to exercise its inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence and to establish an independent and sovereign State in Palestine.

153. It is inadmissible to acquire territory by force. This is why the non-aligned countries rejected all Israeli policies designed to modify the geographical characteristics, demographic composition or legal status of the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967 and why they do not recognize any change made by Israel in those territories.

154. Furthermore, no solution can be considered justified and comprehensive without the participation of the PLO in negotiations on an equal footing. This implies recognition of the right of all States and peoples of the region to independence within secure and recognized borders, free from the threat or use of force.

155. Sixteen years ago the Council adopted resolution 242 (1967), calling for the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied after 5 June 1967. After all these years, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem remain under occupation, and so do the Golan Heights and a considerable part of Lebanon. Such behaviour by Israel is a challenge to which the Council should respond. We should like to repeat here again that the right of Lebanon to independence should be upheld and its territorial integrity restored.

156. The United Nations is and has to remain the centre of the activities aimed at resolving the question of Palestine and laying the foundations of peace and security in that region. We should like to note that the PLO has once again shown its faith in the United Nations and in this body in particular, rightfully expecting the Council to find an adequate response to halt the Israeli aggression, expansion and oppression and to uphold the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

157. The realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State can neither be postponed nor tampered with. In these times of trial, the Palestinian people and the PLO, as its sole legitimate representative, need and deserve our support in order to safeguard and strengthen their unity and independence.

158. It is our view that the Council should reaffirm that the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are illegal and inadmissible and should make one more effort to exert real and effective pressure in order to halt such Israeli policy. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, bear a great responsibility for the achievement by the Palestinian people of the exercise of their rights and for the solution of the crisis in the Middle East, and this task is a duty of utmost priority.

159. Bearing in mind all these facts and the urgency of the situation, we urge the Council to adopt the draft resolution that has been submitted to it [*S/15895*], sponsored by the Group of Arab States.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

[2] Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

[3] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 84th meeting, para. 99 and 100.

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